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THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE

edited by

LORÁND BENKŐ *and* SAMU IMRE

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD BY THE EDITORS (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 11

PÉTER HAJDÚ

THE ORIGINS OF HUNGARIAN (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 15

Uralic Peoples and Languages 15
Finno-Ugric Languages 15
Finno-Permic Languages 15
Ugric Languages 16
Samoyed Languages 16

The Problem of the Uralic Urheimat 17
Proto-Uralic 17
Proto-Finno-Ugric 23
Ramification of Proto-Uralic 26

Ethnogenesis of the Hungarians 27
The Ugric Ethnic and Linguistic Community 27
The Earliest Stage of the Independent Hungarian People 29

Structure of the Proto-Uralic Language 36
Phonology 36
Word Classes 37
Morphological System 39
Syntax 45

Contacts between Proto-Uralic and Other Languages 46

Bibliography 48

BÉLA KÁLMÁN

HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 49

From the Fifth Century B. C. to the Tenth Century A. D. 49
Consonants 49
Vowels 51

The Evolution of Hungarian Sounds from the Tenth Century on 52
Consonants 53
Vowels 60

Appendix 69

Pronunciation Rules for the Letters of the Hungarian Alphabet 69
Modern Literary Language 69
Phonetic Values of the Symbols Used in Technical Literature (Dialectology, Historical Phonology) 72

A Comparative Table of the Letters and Symbols Used 73

The Present-Day Hungarian Phonemic System 74
Consonants 74
Vowels 76
Phonemic Statistics 77

Interrelationships of the Speech Sounds 78
Vowels 78
Consonants 79

Appendix 81
The Syllable and Hyphenation 81
Bibliography 82

SÁNDOR KÁROLY

THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM OF HUNGARIAN (*transl. Ágnes Jávor*) 85
Introduction 85

Grammatical Relations, Structure and Form of the Sentence 85
The Main Characteristics of the Hungarian Sentence 85
The Main Types of Sentence Construction 86
Agreement 87
The Unity of Attributive Construction 89

The Nominal Sentence and the Appropriate Attribute 90
Meaning and Sentence Pattern 90
Structure and Form 92

Sentence with the Verb *van* 'to be' and the Corresponding Attributive Construction 93

The Verbal Sentence and the Non-Finite Forms of Verbs 95
Sentences without a Subject 95
Sentences with an Object 96
The Use of the Dative 104
The Expression of the Relation of Adverb of Place 105
Transformations of the Verbal Sentence; Non-Finite Forms of the Verb 109

The Structure with a Possessive Attribute 122
Meaning and Sentence Pattern 122
Constructions 124
Form and its Development 125

Modality and its Means of Expression 127
Types of Sentences 127
The Marking of Grammatical Person 129
The Expression of Time 130
Actual Analysis and Word Order 132

Sentence Combinations 135
Coordinate Clauses 135
Subordinate Clauses 139

Word-Formation 145
Word-Composition 145
Coordinate Compounds 145
Subordinate Compounds 146
Derivation of Word 149
General Characteristics of Hungarian Derivation 149
The System of Hungarian Formants 152
The Preverb 156
Less Frequent Types of Word Formation 157
The Structure and Form of the Word 157
The Morpheme Structure of Parts of Speech and the Origin of Morpheme Forms 157
The Structure of the Main Parts of Speech 157
Categories of Parts of Speech 159
Formal Types of Morphemes 167
Bibliography 169

LORÁND BENKŐ

THE LEXICAL STOCK OF HUNGARIAN (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 171
The Origin of the Hungarian Lexical Stock 171
The Primitive (Ancient) Stock of Words 172
Foreign Etymologies of the Lexical Stock 176
Iranian Loanwords 176
Turkic Loanwords 178
Slavonic Loanwords 181
German Loanwords 184
Latin Loanwords 186
Neo-Latin Loanwords 188
International Culture-Words 191
Words of Intra-Lingual Formation (Autonomous Words) 193
Questions of Classification 193
Interjections 195
Sound-Imitating Words 195
Onomatopes Associated with the Object or Action Designated (Mood-Painting Words) 198
Hungarian Words in Foreign Languages 200
Main Features Characterizing the Development and Present State of Hungarian Vocabulary 201
Structural Problems 202
Relations between the Etymological Categories 202
The Phonetic Structure of Words 205
Morphological System of Words 208
Analysis according to Parts of Speech 210
Semantic Relations 213

Functional Problems 215
Word-Geographical Relations 215
Questions of Technical Terms 217
Evolution of the Vocabulary of Standard Hungarian 220
Size of the Hungarian Lexicon 223
Bibliography 225

LORÁND BENKŐ

HUNGARIAN PROPER NAMES (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 227
Personal Names (Anthroponyms) 227
Terms during the Earliest Periods 227
Post-Conquest Terminology; One-Element Anthroponyms 228
Two-Element Name-Giving and the Development of Family Names 234
Recent Changes 237
Geographical Names 240
Earliest Naming Customs 240
Names of Foreign Origin 242
Names of Hungarian Origin 244
Arbitrary Name-Giving 250
Bibliography 252

LÁSZLÓ DEME

STANDARD HUNGARIAN (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 255
General Problems 255
Problems of Terms and Principles 255
Historical Relations and Questions of Periodization 259
A History of Hungarian Standard 264
Period of Preparation. From the End of the Tenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century 264
Period of the Characteristics Coming into Relief, the Beginning of the Upswing. From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the Last Third of the Eighteenth Century 269
Its Characteristics Having Become Solid, the Standard is Generally Recognized. From the Last Third of the Eighteenth to the Middle of the Twentieth Centuries 276
The Present-day Hungarian Standard 288
The Actual Situation of the Standard 288
Orthography and Cultivation of Language 293
Bibliography 297

SÁMU IMRE

HUNGARIAN DIALECTS (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 299
Introduction 299
Old Hungarian Dialects. From the Tenth to the Fifteenth Centuries 300
Later Development of Hungarian Dialects. From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 304

Recent Hungarian Dialects 309
Phonemic Systems in Recent Hungarian Dialects 310
Phonetic Problems 313
Inflectional Problems 319
Syntactical Problems 321
Vocabulary 322
The Classification of Hungarian Dialects 323
Dialect Texts 324
Bibliography 325

SAMU IMRE

EARLY HUNGARIAN TEXTS (*transl. Ákos Buttykai*) 327
Scattered Hungarian Words in Foreign Records 328
Scattered Hungarian Words in Domestic Records 329
Coherent Texts 332
Short Running Texts 333
The Codices 336
Secular Texts 339
Glosses, Word Lists, and Vocabularies 342
Records in Runes 344
Printed Documents 345
Bibliography 347

ISTVÁN SZATHMÁRI

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN LINGUISTICS (*transl. Imre Gombos*) 349
The Beginnings of Hungarian Linguistics 350
Transition to Modern Linguistics 351
Modern Linguistics 354
From the Middle to the Seventies of the Last Century 354
From the 1870s to the First World War 355
Between the Two World Wars 361
Following the Second World War 365
Prospects 375
Bibliography 375

*

THE MOST IMPORTANT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ITEMS OF HUNGARIAN AND FINNO-UGRIC LINGUISTICS PUBLISHED IN HUNGARY 379
Periodicals and Series 379
Manuals 379
FACSIMILIES 381

FOREWORD

The purpose of this volume is to offer the reader a general survey of the history and of the present state of the Hungarian language. The last work of this scope in a foreign language (Siegmund Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache. Geschichte und Charakteristik. Strassburg*, 1907) appeared more than 60 years ago. Since then, thanks to research on Hungarian conducted by generations of linguists home and abroad and owing to the development of theory and methodology of linguistics, our knowledge of the highly complicated questions of Hungarian has grown.

These circumstances and the vivid interest in the Hungarian language in the most diverse parts of the world have induced the editors of this book to embark upon a publication which sums up the most recent results obtained in the domain of Hungarian linguistics. They also had in mind a manual which would satisfy an old need in providing information on the main facts of the language to the general reading public and to specialists in linguistics, to literary historians, historians, folklorists, ethnographers, archeologists, and others, who are perhaps not directly engaged in research of linguistic topics but who have developed an interest in them. This handbook is also indispensable to librarians, lecturers and students who want to be informed on questions of Hungarian linguistics, and to specialists who deal with general linguistics or with typological studies.

This collection includes nine separate essays on such subjects as the origin, the phonetic stock, the grammatical system, the vocabulary, proper names, literary usage and standard forms of speech, dialectology, and the earliest written records of the Hungarian language. A concise history of Hungarian linguistics is also added. Each chapter contains a selected bibliography which lists primarily the first-rate summary works of the field concerned. In this way, it is believed, each distinct partial territory of Hungarian linguistics has been adequately represented.

The problems discussed in the individual papers have been approached from an historical angle. At the same time, it has been a major concern of the authors to provide detailed information on the actual state of things; that is the points of synchronic and diachronic treatment have been invariably made the double target of the studies. Thus the book seeks to present an overall, possibly complete view of the Hungarian language.

In order to facilitate orientation, the authors have thought it expedient to compare the most characteristic features of Hungarian with those of the world languages (mainly English, French and German). By making use of

statistical methods, they have considerably enhanced the practical quality of their papers.

Far from being rigidly stuck within some narrow linguistic confines in spite of its topical concern, this book contains abundant descriptions of those particularly colourful social and cultural-historical moments which played such decisive roles — now promoting, now hindering development — and of the multilateral foreign influences that were sometimes advantageous, sometimes disadvantageous to the general welfare of people and language.

In this way, parallel with the historical growth of literary Hungarian, the cultural advance of a nation is shown in a long concatenation of generations of literati and in the interaction of the most varied strata of an ever-expanding reading public. What is more, the examination of the lexicon throws light on living conditions during earlier periods, on revolutionary economic transformations before the age of written records, on periods of long protracted migrations, on the assimilation and dissimilation of various ethnic groups, on religious changes and spiritual reforms, etc. Linguistic and helpful archeological, paleobotanical and other data are made to speak to such debated questions as the origin of the language, the geographical position of the ancient habitat, courses of migrations, the peoples — perhaps long since extinct — with whom the forefathers of the Hungarians were in contact in peace or were engaged in warfare, etc. The remote past and the present day, as well as what lies between these two, are questioned by linguistic means, and the answers, as documented in this volume, are much more exciting than one would, or could, expect from the simple description of a language.

*

The authors, university lecturers and senior officers of the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, represent the vanguard of present-day Hungarian linguists. They have made notable contributions to their special fields. They have been given a free hand to express their views on the material examined by them. The standpoints and results thus revealed are in the main identical with what has been so far generally recognized by Hungarian linguists. Several partial fields are necessarily treated by more than one contributor, their ideas on certain questions are perhaps not always in full agreement with one another. The discrepancies of opinion, naturally, have not escaped the editors' attention, but an attempt to bring deviations of minor or major importance in line has been thought unnecessary. In this way the reader will perhaps be able to get a more appropriate picture of present-day Hungarian linguistics from the papers as they are. In any case, the collaborators of this volume agree that the truth about the implicit hero of this book — the Hungarian people with its several millennia-old idiom — can be uncovered only by confronting the most diverse views from within the discipline and from the adjacent sciences.

*

The linguistic data on Hungarian are given in Hungarian orthography. Transcription has been resorted to only when purely phonetical questions were discussed. When a symbol is characteristically Hungarian, the corresponding internationally used symbol is also given, the Hungarian equivalent being added in brackets, e.g.: "the sound *s* ⟨*sz*⟩", "the sound *d'* ⟨*gy*⟩"; etc. The phonetic values of the individual Hungarian characters are explained on pages 69—74 and on the inset. English translations of the Hungarian examples are given whenever it was deemed advisable.

Finally, on behalf of the collaborators, authors, editors, translators and publishers of this volume we wish to express our deep indebtedness to Professor John Lotz, Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C., and his co-workers, as well as to Professor Robert Austerlitz, Columbia University, New York, for their valuable help in contributing to the presentation of this volume in English.

The Editors

THE ORIGINS OF HUNGARIAN

by

PÉTER HAJDÚ

URALIC PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

Hungarian is traditionally classified as one of the Finno-Ugric languages. However, since the genetic relationship which exists between the Samoyed languages of Siberia and the Finno-Ugric languages is universally agreed upon, it would be much more accurate to identify Hungarian as the westernmost branch of the Uralic family of languages, where the term Uralic indicates the family which contains both the Samoyed and the Finno-Ugric languages.

In terms of number of speakers, Hungarian is the Uralic language with the largest speaking population.

The two main (and only) branches of the Uralic family are Finno-Ugric and Samoyed. Finno-Ugric is further subdivided into Finno-Permian and Ugric.

Finno-Ugric Languages

Finno-Permic Languages

Finno-Permian includes Baltic-Finnic, Lapp, Volgaic, and Permians All of these sub-branches of Finno-Permic except Lapp can be further subdivided into individual languages.

In addition to Finnish proper, the Baltic-Finnic group includea Karelian, Ingrian, Veps, Vote, Estonian, and Livonian. The Finns (ce 4,500,000) live in Finland. Karelian is spoken in two major areas: in th, Karelian Finnish ASSR and in a restricted area north of the Upper-Volga in the so-called Kalinin area. Their number is 170,000. Ingrian is at present spoken by about 1,000 persons west of Leningrad, on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. The Veps people, numbering approximately 16,000, are neighbours of the Karelians. They live scattered in a triangular area delimited by the lakes Ladoga, Onega and Beloe. The Vote used to inhabit the villages south of the Ingrian area. Their language is now spoken by barely more than some two scores of people. This idiom is closely related to Estonian. The Estonians in the Estonian SSR number about 1,000,000. Livonian is also moribund: it is spoken by some 500 people on the Kurland peninsula in the Latvian SSR.

The Lapps (ca. 31,000) live in the northern parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland, as well as on the Kola peninsula in the Soviet Union. They speak numerous dialects which differ from one another considerably. There are three main dialect groups: Western Lapp (including the Lapp dialects

of Norway and several dialects in Sweden); Southern Lapp (dialects spoken south of the river Ume in Sweden); Eastern Lapp (in Finland and Russia proper).

The Volgaic Finno-Ugric group includes Cheremis and Mordvin. The Cheremis live in the Mari ASSR (on the left bank of the great bend of the Volga); the Mordvin live in the Mordvin ASSR situated between the rivers Volga and Oka, as well as in the adjacent areas of the Tatar and the Bashkir ASSRs. The number of Cheremis-speaking people is about 500,000; that of the Mordvin 1,300,000. The Mordvin language is divided into two main dialects, each representing the basis of a separate literary idiom: Erza-Mordvin is spoken by the eastern groups inhabiting the valley of the Sura river; and Moksha-Mordvin is spoken by the western groups, in the regions of the Moksha river.

There are two Permic languages: Zyrian spoken by 400,000 people, and the Votyak spoken by 600,000. The Zyrian inhabit the Komi ASSR (situated between the Vichegda river and the Ural mountains), and in the Komi-Permyak District (where they speak a particular dialect which has attained the rank of a literary language). The Votyak live in the Udmurt ASSR between the rivers Kama and Vyatka.

Ugric Languages

Hungarian is principally spoken within the Carpathian Basin. It is the mother tongue of some 10,000,000 persons within the present-day boundaries of Hungary and of about some 4,000,000 people beyond these boundaries.

There are two Ob-Ugric languages: Vogul (spoken by 6,000) and Ostyak (by 19,000). They are inhabitants of the West-Siberian Khanti—Mansi District on the middle and the lower courses of the Ob river. The Vogul live between the Lower Ob and the Ural and the Ostyak along the Lower and partly along the Middle Ob, as well as along the courses of its tributaries, a little farther to the east of the Vogul.

Samoyed Languages

1. Northern branch: Nenets (25,000), Enets (300 to 400), and Nganasan (700). The reindeer-keeping Nenets (or Yurak-Samoyed) live in the subarctic tundra-belt between the estuaries of the Northern Dvina and the Enisei. A smaller portion of them (the so-called Forest Nenets, ca. 1,000 persons) have moved towards the watershed of the Taz and live mainly in the extensive forests on the upper reaches of the Pur river and along the Agan where they continue a hunting-fishing mode of life. The Enets (or Enisei-Samoyed) live on the lower course of the Enisei, while the Nganasan (or Tavgi-Samoyed) live on the barren expanses of the Taymir Peninsula.

2. The southern branch is nowadays represented only by one language, Selkup (or Ostyak-Samoyed). There are about 4,000 Selkup; they live along

the Upper Taz and along some of the right-wing tributaries of the Middle Ob. Southern Samoyed formerly also included smaller groups of speakers who lived in the Sayan Mountains (Kamassian, Karagas, Koybal, Motor, Soyot, and Taygi). The Sayan Samoyed tribes were for the most part assimilated by the neighbouring Turkic-speaking peoples of Siberia as early as the last century. The Kamassian language survived longest and is now practically extinct. During the early 1960s researchers succeeded in locating two women over 70 who were able to recall fragments of their former mother tongue which they never used in their everyday life.

THE PROBLEM OF THE URALIC URHEIMAT

Proto-Uralic

1. Ever since the middle of the last century there have been several contending hypotheses regarding the original habitat of the Proto-Uralic-speaking population. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was customary to say that the Uralic and the Altaic peoples originated in Central Asia. This theory derives from the hypotheses of M. A. Castrén and F. J. Wiedemann. Recently the Hungarian scholar Erik Molnár has made attempts to revive this theory. Molnár's theses, however, were refuted first by Hungarian researchers and later by Soviet archeologists, mainly by A. P. Okladnikov, so that the Central-Asia theory has not been generally accepted in its original or in its modernized form.

The traditional or "classical" theory of the Uralic Urheimat was based on the application of phytogeography and zoogeography to questions of language. The methods of paleo-biogeography (see below) were used primarily by Hungarian and Finnish researchers who, by and large, have arrived at identical conclusions: partisans of this method have assigned the Urheimat to Northeastern Europe. But while the Finnish school opted for an Urheimat situated between the great bend of the Volga and the Oka river, the Hungarian paleohistorians gave preference to the areas situated between the Kama estuary and the Ural Mountains.

For several decades the theory according to which the Urheimat was near the Kama, i.e., the bend of the Volga, enjoyed favour in learned circles. This view — notwithstanding the serious criticisms based on linguistic paleobotany and paleozoology which have been launched against it in recent years — struck deep roots in Hungarian, in Finnish, and in Estonian public opinion, for which the schools and other educational institutions, as well as scientific literature, have been primarily responsible.

Besides biogeographical evidence, the traditional view of the Urheimat relied largely on data from the settlement geography of the Finno-Ugric peoples and on those aspects of settlement history which support the view that these peoples once dispersed from a focal point lying somewhere around the great bend of the Volga. These arguments seem strong.

On the other hand, biogeographical support of the traditionally accepted hypothesis of the Urheimat is much less defensible. This has been adopted

by generations of linguists but has been seriously challenged recently. The essence of the biogeographical (or rather linguistic paleobotanical and paleozoological) procedures consists in compiling, by way of a comparative analysis of the vocabularies of all the related languages, the names of plants and animals which were supposedly known to the Ursprache. The words thus established enabled investigators to determine the flora and the fauna in the vocabulary of the proto-language.

The next task was to delimit the area where the plants and animals whose names could be reconstructed in the Uralic proto-language must have lived. Critics of this theory have pointed out that the method considers only the present-day zone of distribution of the plants and animals in question and that this zone is different from that in question several thousand years ago. Present-day biogeographical conditions cannot be considered reliable evidence for determining past stages of development.

2. Such counter-arguments as these have, most probably, given rise to other critical statements about the Uralic Urheimat. The Finnish scholar Erkki Itkonen and the Estonian scholar Paul Ariste, among others, are of the opinion that this Urheimat may have extended from the Urals to the Baltic Sea. They mainly rely on the hypothesis that the mesolithic Kunda culture exposed in Estonia is to be attributed to Finno-Ugric peoples. This culture, named after the village Kunda in Northern Estonia, originates from the Ancylus age (its most ancient layer being datable to the seventh millennium B. C.) and represents the richest European remains of the transitional stone (i.e. the mesolithic) age among which a settlement of ancient inhabitants was unearthed, together with abundant stone and bone implements. The Kunda culture depicts a fishing and hunting society. According to R. Indreko, there are many ties which connect this culture with the eastern cultures of the North European neolithic age (three to two millennia B.C.) and primarily with the so-called comb-ceramic culture which stretched from the Ural to the Baltic Sea. The comb-ceramic culture has received its name from a peculiar ornamentation of its extremely rich ceramic material, resembling a comb-like indentation. The comb-ornamented ceramics had been regarded by several researchers as a relic of the Finno-Ugrians, a circumstance supporting to some extent the hypothesis that the hunters and fishers of Kunda used to be a people of Finno-Ugric origin; that is to say, some groups of Finno-Ugric origin may have been present in the Baltic area in the millennia before the present era commenced.

Thus the Finnish and Estonian researchers wish to reconcile the traditional conception of the Urheimat with the hypothetical continuity of the Finno-Ugrians in the Baltic area. However, no solution to the problem of Uralic ethnogenesis can be expected from the hypothetical presence of a mesolithic or neolithic Finno-Ugric population in the Baltic area. Archeological results have failed to corroborate the proposition that the comb-pottery belonged to one particular ethnic group, namely to the Finno-Ugrians. On the contrary, recent investigations have proved that only one of the several varieties of the comb-pottery culture can be ascribed to the Finno-Ugric peoples, namely just the easternmost of them. Also, the con-

nections of the mesolithic Kunda culture with the North European neolithic cultures are very doubtful, or more exactly, no genetic relationship is likely to have existed between them. Consequently, the views on a possible Finno-Ugric origin of the Kunda people have remained completely unsupported.

The distinguished Hungarian archeologist Gyula László has also assigned the locus of Uralic ethnogenesis to the forest regions stretching from the river Oka as far westward as Riga. His method includes two significant innovations: (1) He seeks to delimit this area not at the moment when its inhabitants dispersed but when they emerged as an independent ethnic group. (2) He is the first to have taken into account palynological evidence in the study of forest history in connection with biogeographical and paleohistorical questions. (By analyzing the pollen deposited many thousand years ago in the sediments of lakes or marshes, or in peat, the palynologist can provide a fairly accurate picture of the changes in the vegetal cover in a given area; the age of the pollen is determined by geological and soil-chemical examinations.)

Gyula László has reduced to three the number of tree species known by the proto-Uralic people. According to him, these three trees were simultaneously present in the mentioned area exclusively. On this basis Gy. László identifies the group of proto-Uralic speakers with a group which developed the paleolithic Świdry culture in present-day central Poland. This culture, named after the community Świdry in the vicinity of Warsaw, is the earliest representative of the upper-paleolithic (15,000 to 8,000 B.C.) or possibly of the mesolithic (8,000 to 6,000 B.C.) archeological cultures of central Poland. Gyula László first discussed this culture in connection with Finno-Ugric paleohistory and assigned the beginnings of Finno-Ugric paleohistory to a period some 5,000 to 10,000 years prior to that usually assigned to the Uralic stage.

In spite of Gyula László's pioneering innovations, his conclusions have failed to convince a number of specialists, including the writer. Neither his reduction of the proto-Uralic tree names to three, nor his attempt to determine the time of the genesis of proto-Uralic are acceptable. This genesis required tens of millennia and the process must be assigned so far back in the unknown historical periods of Euro-Asiatic paleolithic age that to explain it seems to be an utterly hopeless task for the time being. Likewise, the attempt to hypothesize the place of this genesis or to identify it with any of the archeologically known cultures must be considered futile.

3. A more rewarding line of inquiry would be to determine, with the aid of thoroughly checked linguistic and palynological data, the limits of the territory where the society which spoke the proto-Uralic language lived as a unit the last time and where the linguistic and social unity of this population began to dissolve. That is, we should ask where the point of dispersion of the Uralic languages was.

In terms of their socio-economic content, the elements of the proto-Uralic vocabulary unequivocally reflect conditions which are characteristic of the neolithic age, e.g., 'sledge', 'bow for shooting arrows', 'draught of sledge',

'bow-string', 'arrow', 'drill-bow', 'awl', 'ski (= snow-shoe)', 'needle', 'to twist, braid', 'to row', 'crossrail in a boat', 'glue', 'copper, swamp ore', 'drag-net', 'weir-basket', 'to steal', etc.

A further examination of the basic vocabulary will reveal that the speakers of proto-Uralic knew numerous species of fish (mainly salmon); they were acquainted with fur animals from the reindeer down to the squirrel, that is to say, they had lived in an area covered with forests, crossed by rivers and broken here and there by swamps and bogs or by marshes. This area must have been situated in a colder zone (cf. 'ski', 'snow', 'ice', etc.) where they became familiar with numerous kinds of water fowl, and with marsh birds and forest birds.

On the basis of the picture thus gained a very extensive portion of Northern Eurasia might be suspected of having been a habitat for this group of speakers: the picture becomes more concrete if we examine the names of trees. These are found in great abundance in the Uralic languages, most of which are still spoken by inhabitants of woody regions. Sound etymological research on tree names may thus enable us to identify those terms which may be direct survivals from the proto-Uralic or proto-Finno-Ugric periods. Only those words are sifted out, whose etymologies are undeniable or at least plausible and whose original meaning can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty. These conditions permit us to assign the following tree names to the proto-Uralic stage:

1. Spruce (Picea obovata) = PU **kowese* > Finnish *kuusi*[1] (and correspondences in Lappish, Mordvin, Cheremis, Votyak, Zyrian, Vogul, Ostyak, Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup, Kamassian);
2. Cembra pine (Pinus sibirica) = PU **sikse* > Zyrian *sus-pu* (+ correspondences in Votyak, Vogul, Ostyak, Nenets, Selkup, Kamassian);
3. Siberian fir (Abies sibirica) = PU **ńulka* > Cheremis *nulgo* (+ correspondences in Votyak, Zyrian, Vogul, Ostyak, Selkup, Kamassian);
4. Birch (Betula) = PU **kojwa* > Finnish *koivu* (+ correspondences in Lappish, Mordvin, Cheremis, Vogul, Ostyak, Samoyed);
5. Poplar (Populus) = PU **poje* > Mordvin *poj* (+ correspondences in Votyak, Zyrian, Ostyak, Samoyed);
6. Willow (Salix) = PU **paje* > Hungarian *fagyal* (+ correspondences in Zyrian, Votyak, Finnish);
7. Common fir (Pinus silvestris) = PU **juwe* > Vogul *jiw* (+ correspondences in Ostyak, Samoyed).

This layer of Uralic words is completed by a few etymologies that can be dated to the proto-Finno-Ugric stage:

8. Common fir (Pinus silvestris) = PFU **pene* > Hungarian *fenyő* (+ correspondences in Zyrian, Votyak, Cheremis);

[1] Finnish examples are given in standard Finnish orthography, in which double vowels and consonants are pronounced long. Examples quoted in this chapter from other Finno-Ugric languages are given in the so-called FUF transcription system. The Hungarian linguistic data are given in their current orthography. The phonetic values of letters used in the Hungarian alphabet are detailed on pp. 69-74 in this volume.

9. Larch-tree (Larix sibirica) = PFU *ńäŋe > Zyrian *ńia* (+ correspondences in Vogul, Ostyak);

10. Elm-tree (Ulmus) = PFU *śala > Hungarian *szil* (+ correspondences in Cheremis, Mordvin, Finnish).

Accordingly, a common characteristic feature of these proto-Uralic and proto-Finno-Ugric tree names is that all trees of the taiga (northern conifer forest) could be designated by them (Nos 1, 2, 3, 9), while there is but one word among them (No. 10) that can be applied to a tree occurring in the mixed deciduous forest type of Central Europe (Quercus-Ulmus-Tilia). It is a very significant fact that no Uralic (or even Finno-Ugric) etymologies can be found for trees so characteristic of the mentioned QUT zone as are the oak (Quercus), or linden-tree (Tilia), or, for that matter, of the hazel (Corylus avellana) which lives in association with QUT trees.

Tree species Nos 4—6 should be classed here as having had no determinative function either in the past or in recent times. All three are rather indifferent to edaphic conditions: they can thrive equally well in humid and dry soils, under moderate climate or in the cold regions of the tundra; and although only the spread of the Betula species can be traced by way of pollen analysis (Salix and Populus being very poor preservers of their pollen which is liable to decay and perish in a very short time), still it is beyond dispute that these tree species have been generally known in almost every forest region of the Soviet Union for 12,000 years.

Pinus silvestris mentioned under Nos 7 and 8 would be meaningful for us only if we were able to date the Uralic, i.e. Finno-Ugric stage to the Paleo-Holocene (that is 10,000 to 12,000 years ago). For during the Paleo-Holocene characterized by a subarctic climate, Pinus silvestris was indigenous, for the most part, only in the Russian Plains and in the West Siberian Plains (around the watershed of the Ob and Irtysh); it could only proceed further to the north when climatic conditions grew milder: its two zones spreading from the eastern and the western foci made a progression towards the north where they united in a wide range, owing to the boreal climate of Early-Holocene (7,700 to 10,000 years ago), and what is even more significant, its northern boundaries protruded still more toward the north under the sub-boreal Atlantic climate in the Middle-Holocene.

This being the case, we can expect further information on the whereabouts of the ancient country from the paleobotany of the species mentioned under Nos 1-3 and 9-10. The others are irrelevant from our point of view.

Laboratory examination of pollen and fossil woods preserved in marshy sediments and peat can provide us with fairly reliable and comprehensive information about the changes that took place in both the conifer woods of the taiga and the deciduous forest covers of Europe during historical periods. We are thus able to follow the development of forests, their composition in terms of species, and their displacements which were sometimes considerable. The results of such forest-historical investigations now enable us to report on the relevant trees mentioned above.

Picea (No. 1) regarded in itself, i.e. without reference to the other taiga species, is important because it indicates that the Urheimat was some-

where in the taiga belt (that is, in a restricted northern area of the Eurasian forest region). Since, however, the taiga belt had moved from inner Siberia via the Urals to the White Sea as early as the Paleo-Holocene, particular attention should be paid to the historical shifts of Pinus sibirica (No. 2), Abies (No. 3), and Larix (No. 9) spreading from east to west, as well as to Ulmus (No. 10), showing a contrary tendency to move from west to east.

In the Paleo-Holocene, Pinus sibirica is only demonstrable from the area bordered by the rivers Ob and Irtysh; its spread towards more western regions cannot be ascertained from the Early Holocene. In the Middle Holocene (2,500 to 7,700 years ago), however, it appeared not only in the northern parts of Western Siberia, but also in the region situated west of the northern stretches of the Ural, i.e. at the river-head of the Pechora, although with a rather low rate of frequency as regards the composition of forests: its share in the pollen spectra is but 2 per cent. Consequently, it could not have constituted extensive forests, but it must have occurred in the form of minor pine woods scattered in the Picea-taiga.

Abies shows a course of spread from the central territories of West Siberia and East Siberia. In the Middle Holocene, it reached the Ob estuary, and passing through the Urals, it also penetrated into Europe. It is demonstrable in the pollen spectra with a share of 5—7 per cent on the upper courses of the Pechora, as well as on the right bank of the Kama.

It is only from the Middle Holocene that Larix spreading from the east can be ascertained in the northern parts of West Siberia, although it probably grew also in earlier times in the more southern parts of West Siberia. It had not, however, moved west of the Urals before the Recent Holocene, i.e. 500 B. C., when the Finno-Ugrians had already separated into several groups.

In the present-day European areas of the Soviet Union, the Ulmus can be demonstrated from the Paleo-Holocene to a very limited extent. In the Early Holocene (7,700 to 9,800 years ago), however, the species spreading from Central European refuges shows a rapid advance in the central belts of the European Soviet areas, and in the Middle Holocene it crosses the Volga and reaches the Pechora, i.e. the Central Ural area.

Evidently, we have to search for the Urheimat in such parts of the taiga belt where Pinus sibirica and also Abies can be found in the midst of Picea forests. Such points have existed in the eastern regions of Siberia from a very early date, but in West Siberia they can only be evidenced from the Middle Holocene onwards. Furthermore, we have to consider that Larix should also be taken into account in the association of trees mentioned (at least from the beginning of the Finno-Ugric period). It is even more important that, prior to their disintegration, the Finno-Ugrians had become acquainted with Ulmus, that particular species which was marching at the head of the QUT trees in their spread from the west.

Considering all this, we must look for the Uralic and the Finno-Ugric Urheimat in a region where the typically Siberian association of the Picea-taiga mixed with Abies, Pinus sibirica and Larix found an east-west contact with the easternmost vanguards of Ulmus. This territory, however, could not have protruded deeply into the QUT belt since no trace of any knowl-

edge of Quercus, Tilia and Corylus can be inferred from the arboreal terms contained in the PU—PFU proto-language. Thus, the Uralic Urheimat must have been situated north of the Central Urals, from the beginning well into the middle of the Middle Holocene, along the lower and middle courses of the Ob and in the northern regions of the Ural Mountains, including the river-head of the Pechora; for the most part, however, in the Siberian parts of the area thus delimited. In terms of a time-scale this means the sixth to fourth millennia before the present era.

4. We have deliberately omitted zoological terms in delimiting this territory. We have done so because the names of animals are rather unstable, owing to tabu beliefs, or have lower etymological value, on account of their onomatopoetical character (e.g. the names of birds) than do the tree names. In addition, the fauna of all of Eurasia is rather uniform; therefore no great expectations can be attached to the topographical significance of animal names. Finally, historical zoo-geography does not yield results as exact in regard to the Holocene era as those which can be obtained from paleobotany. In examinations of this kind we must rely mainly on the consideration that changes of the fauna are linked up with changes of the flora. This observation is also indicative of the primary importance of the forest-historical data. In accordance with this principle it is worth while taking into consideration the fact that the Finno-Ugric people knew the sable (Martes zibellina), a fur animal which lives in yellow (Cembra) pine forests. This is indirect proof of the fact that the Urheimat was in the Siberian taiga belt.

Proto-Finno-Ugric

After the disruption of the original Uralic homeland, a part of the population must have moved toward the west and inhabited the valleys and areas around the tributaries of the rivers Pechora and Kama at the latest in the third millennium B. C. The groups which settled in the western regions represent the Finno-Ugric branch. Consequently, this branch can be found on the European side of the Urals in the third millennium B. C.

This view agrees fairly well with the assumption made on archeological grounds that the culture extending from the Volga to the Ob in the fourth millennium B. C. is to be considered the ethnocultural zone of the Uralic population. This view, the latest formulation of which is connected with the name of A. Kh. Khalikov, also takes into consideration the fact that the area thus delineated has its own mesolithic antecedents which can be readily connected with the Uralic or Siberian neolithic age. Even if statements about such remote periods must remain conjectural, the identification of the Finno-Ugric culture of the third millennium before the present era in the Ural and Kama region rests on rather convincing evidence. According to P. N. Tretyakov, the Kama type of comb ceramics did not extend to the right banks of the Volga at that time. It only began to infiltrate the mid-regions of the Volga and Oka rivers towards the end of the third millennium B. C. In this way a population movement started, in the course of which neolithic northeastern Europe was invaded in the third and sec-

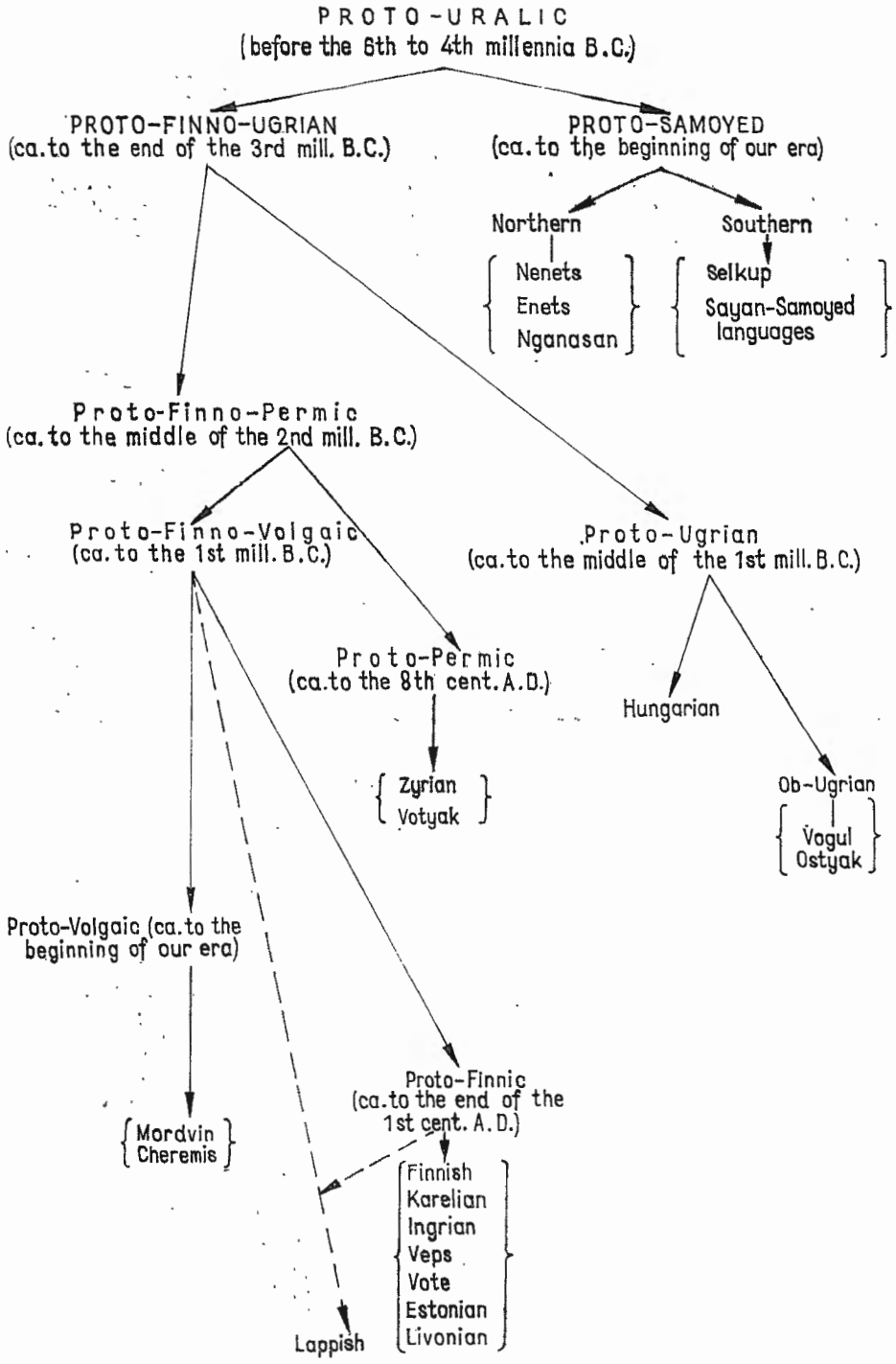

Fig. 1. Ramification of Proto-Uralic

ond millennia by populations of Finno-Ugric language and ethnic character, gradually proceeding from the Kama and the Volga regions. The expansion pointing toward west and northwest bears indications of a further differentiation of the Finno-Ugric group, i.e., the separation of the Finno-Permic branch.

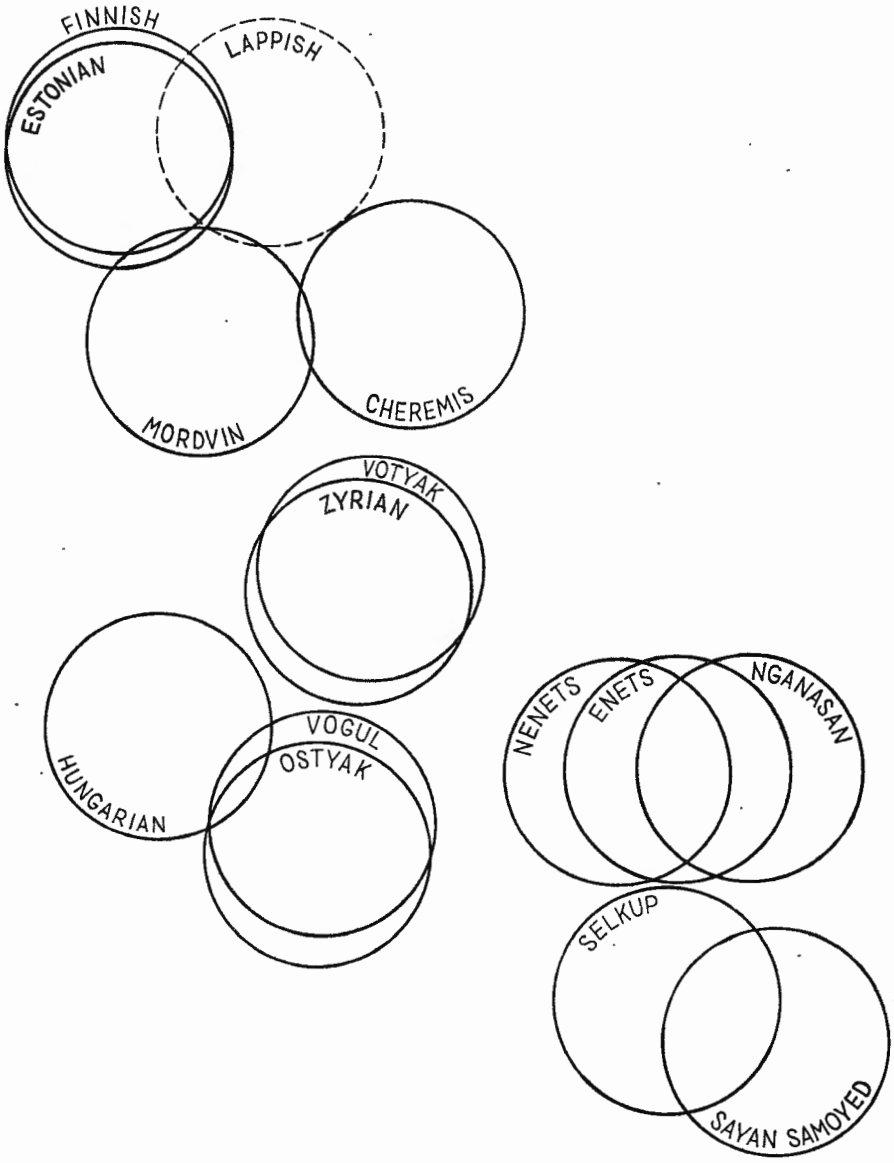

Fig. 2. Mutual relationships of the Uralic languages

Ramification of Proto-Uralic

The division of Proto-Uralic into separate language groups, i.e. into independent languages, is shown in Fig. 1. The particular status of Lappish is indicated by a broken line. The speakers of Proto-Lapp were a non-Finno-

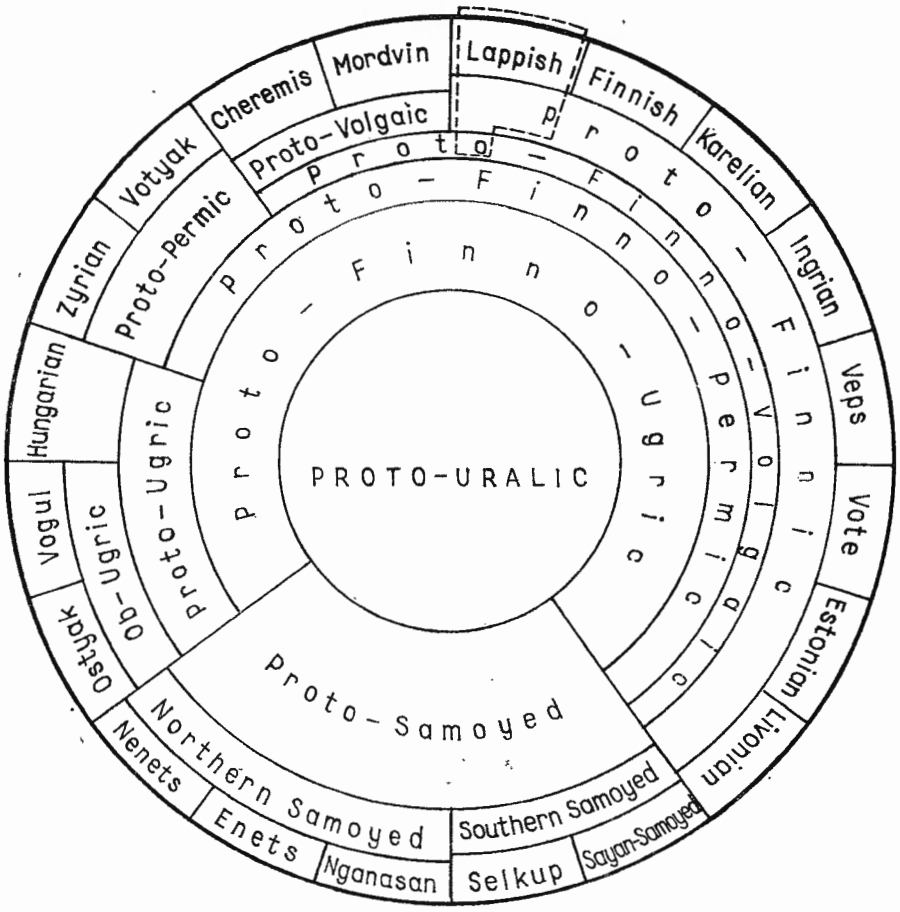

Fig. 3. The development from Proto-Uralic to modern Uralic languages

Ugric people who joined the Proto-Finnic, i.e. Proto-Finno-Volgaic peoples in the first millennium B.C. As a result, they abandoned their original language and adopted the idiom of their neighbours. Their language has developed ever since under the influence of Proto-Finnic and of Finnish.

The mutual relationship of the Uralic languages can also be demonstrated in other ways. In the one representation (Fig. 2) the approximate degree of the relationships between cognate Uralic languages is shown by the

distance at which the circles of equal size for each language are placed. (Overlapping circles show nearer relationships.) In Fig. 3 the existing Uralic languages are placed in the outer segments of the circle, while the inner segments are occupied by the proto-languages from which the extant ones are derived. The central core symbolizes the Proto-Uralic mother-language. From the radial lines inferences can be made as to the approximate duration of lingual co-existence; the time proportion is not quite according to scale.

ETHNOGENESIS OF THE HUNGARIANS

The Ugric Ethnic and Linguistic Community

1. The separation of the Ugric group from the Finno-Ugric community involved a degree of geographical differentiation into two branches: a part of the Finno-Permic group moving towards the west and northwest, and the gradual (and partial) migration towards the southeast of the Ugric groups were responsible for this two-pronged tendency of separation. Nevertheless, the river Kama did not cease for a long time to function for them as the main means of communication between the central parts and the core of the settlements from where the groups emanated following the courses of the smaller or larger tributaries.

The view that the proto-Ugric people migrated to the Siberian side of the Urals where it came into contact with some Turkic peoples and from where the ancestors of the Hungarian nation (organized by the Turkic tribes into a sort of pastoral nomadic people) re-invaded Europe at a subsequent date used to be generally accepted. However, there is no reason whatever for us to assume such a circuitous trans-Uralic route in which the Hungarians would have arrived on the South Russian plains from their original place of abode in the Ugric age. The idea of such a Siberian roundabout has been practically rejected by paleo-historians who recently are rather inclined to maintain that this Ugric group never left the Cis-Uralian regions of the transition zone between the steppe belt and the forest belt. Thus, it is assumed that if this Ugric group ever moved to the other side of the Urals at all, it did not remain in the interior parts of Siberia for any considerable period.

From the cultural point of view, a conspicuous feature of this period is the development of horse-keeping. There are strong arguments to support the existence of a Ugric horse-breeding culture. Among the linguistic arguments we have the Hungarian words relating to equestrian habits like *ló* 'horse', *fék* 'brake', *nyereg* 'saddle', all of which originate from the Ugric period (as does, in part, *kengyel* 'stirrup'). Significant, also, are the vestiges of an equestrian past in the popular traditions of the Vogul and the Ostyak. What is more, certain objects in the field of the material culture which can also be considered here have survived, such as certain types of the quiver which can be fastened to the belt and which are still used among the Ob-Ugrians. Objects of this kind are found only among mounted nomads.

The horse-keeping culture of the Ugric people can, however, by no means be mistaken for the pastoral culture of the mounted nomads who keep enormous stocks of horses on succulent pastures. Living in woods or in the gallery forests of the steppe region precluded any kind of extensive stock-keeping. Horse-keeping had never provided the basis of the Ugric economy: in their gallery forests, hunting had continued to keep its leading role (complemented by fishing as a secondary occupation); and horses must have been important for them in hunting. Thus, as regards their form of life, the Ugric people might be described as a fur-hunting—horse-keeping people (fur having been their most important commercial article). It is not impossible, therefore, that the ethnonyms *jyrka* and *thyssageta* mentioned by Herodotus (ca. 484—425 B.C.) cover some Ugric tribes. Whether this supposition holds true or not, one thing is certain: Herodotus' description provides reliable information about a people that pursued a fur-hunting—horse-keeping mode of life at the middle of the first millennium before the present era, and therefore it is very instructive for us to read the following passage: "Crossing the river Tanais [= Don], one is no longer walking on Scythian fields, but the first strip of land belongs to the Sauromatas [= Sarmatians, an Iranian tribe] who inhabit a land of fifteen days' journey counted from the end of the Lake Maietis [= Maeotis, i.e. Sea of Azov] towards the north; neither forest-trees nor fruit-bearing trees are to be found in their lands. Beyond these, a second strip of land is inhabited by the Budins [= ? a Permic tribe], the whole of their land is covered by thick forests of all kinds. Towards the north from the Budins first follows a wilderness of two days' journey, and beyond the wilderness — proceeding to the right towards the east — one finds the Thyssagetas, a numerous and independent people: they live by hunting. In their immediate neighbourhood and in the same region live those called Jyrkas; these equally live by hunting in the following manner: climbing a tree (of which there are many in the region), the hunter hides and waits the game; each has his horse at hand — which is trained to fall on its stomach so that it may seem shorter — and his dog as well; and when the hunter hiding in the tree catches a glimpse of the game, he shoots an arrow at it and, mounting his horse, starts to chase it with his dog at the heel."

This introduction of animal breeding involved a significant change as opposed to the uniform fishing—hunting mode of living in the Finno-Ugric period, even though the ways of horse-breeding in the Ugric stage did not result in a final abandonment of silvan hunting (and fishing). It must have been a remarkable moment in the ancient people's life, since it gave rise to processes which transformed the whole structure of the society and which led gradually to a well-discernible social stratification. Although the society of the Ugric period does not bear symptoms of the tribal-patriarchal organization and differentiation according to wealth and property characteristic of pastoral nomads, still we find present all the preconditions which are necessary for such a course of development.

2. The Proto-Ugric language as the most immediate antecedent of the Ob-Ugric and the Hungarian languages came into existence in the course

of the dissolution of the Uralic community. The period of Ugric co-existence lasted for at least 1500 years, yet the specifically Proto-Ugric innovations are surprisingly few in the common stock of the three Ugric languages: what might be said to be comparatively more conspicuous are the elements of vocabulary of Ugric provenance; besides these, however, we barely have one or two trends of sound evolution of common origin, an inflexional suffix-family of common origin, and one or two Ugric formative-suffixes that can bear witness to that period.

This phenomenon can perhaps be explained by the fact that the relationships of the individual Ugric groups were comparatively loose. It can also be supposed that the Ugric community separated into two branches at a relatively early date: a southern branch (the ancestors of the Hungarians), and a northern branch (those of the Ob-Ugrians).

Strikingly conspicuous in comparison with the linguistic development of the Ugric period is the rate of evolution covering the whole of the grammatical system and vocabulary of the Hungarian language during the first period of 1000 to 1500 years of its separate existence (which lasted altogether 2500 years). The Hungarian language of the eleventh century can be fairly well understood with a knowledge of modern Hungarian, but a Hungarian of the Conquest period could not have made himself understood to an ancestor of Ugric times. This is due to the fact that the Hungarian language has undergone fewer substantial structural changes during the last 1000 years than it had during the 1000 years following its separation from the Ob-Ugric branches.

The Earliest Stage of the Independent Hungarian People

1. The independent life of the Hungarian language is reckoned from the date when the Proto-Hungarians separated from the Ugric community. This event must have taken place about the fifth century B. C., or, in terms of archeology, during the middle phase of the Ananyino culture of the Kama region. The process of separation of the Hungarians was accompanied by new economic forms of production which acquired a dominating role, and by a high degree of social-cultural transformation. The Hungarian ethnic groups thus formed moved towards the borders of the forest regions, and settled at the outer tracts of the steppe (in the so called gallery-forest zone). Physical—geographical conditions in that territory, by and large in the present-day area of Bashkiria, were such as to favour stock-keeping as a dominating form of production. A promoting agent was the Hungarian contact with various nomadic peoples of more advanced cultures, primarily with the Turkic tribes who had a stimulating effect on the enfolding material and spiritual culture of the Hungarians by acquainting them with certain branches of animal-breeding, and also of agriculture by means of the plough, and certain kinds of manufacturing industry.

We have no reliable information about the historical events that took place between the fifth century before our era and the fifth century A. D. But as the expert of cybernetics can draw conclusions about the internal

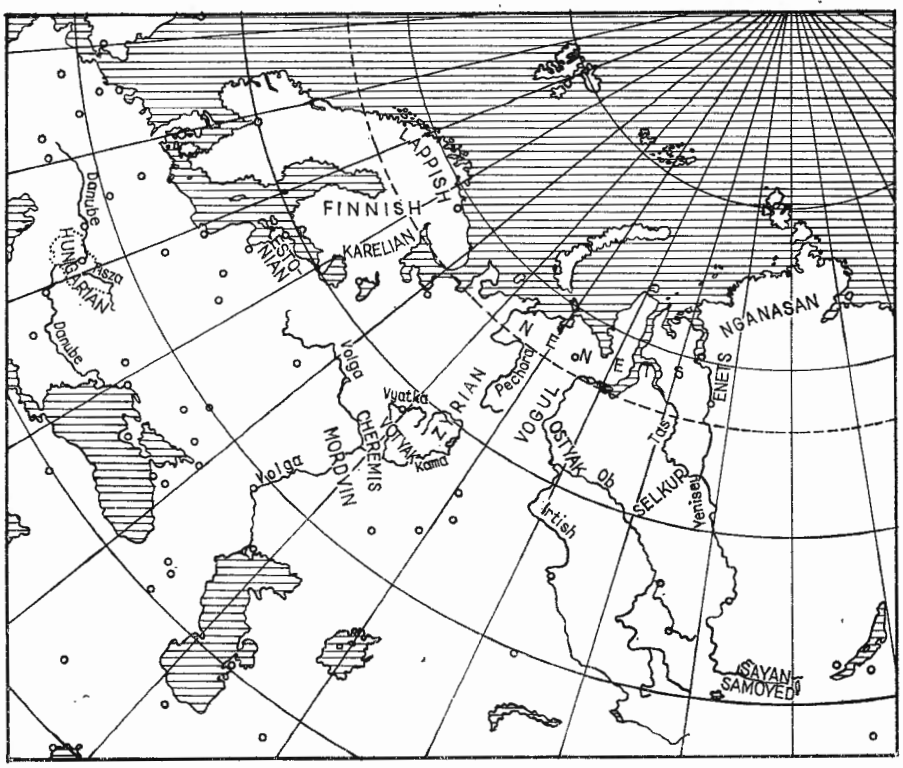

Fig. 4. Geographical spread of the Uralic peoples

state of the "black box" from the differences between input and output signals, so can the researcher of paleohistory approach the events of that obscure period by comparing the linguistic, cultural, economic, and political characteristics of the Hungarians just emerging from the Ugric community with those of a Hungarian people that appeared as a nation to acquire a country after a thousand years' lapse of time. It was precisely that period of one thousand years that brought about, by amalgamating various Ugric and Turkic elements, a Hungarian people uniform both in ethnic character and in language. And so it happened that the great migration of peoples starting about the fifth century A. D. found in its way a Hungarian people exhibiting mainly Turkic and seminomadic features in their way of life, tactics, and tribal organization. The people were living then in a Turkic environment and were thus driven by the great migration, in several waves, first to the South-Russian steppe, and later on towards the west.

We have obtained some knowledge of the main stations of their long migration. In the fifth century A. D. *Ogur* tribes, attacked and displaced by the Sabir people, had moved to the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, and it is possible that their confederation of tribes included considerable portions of the Hungarian people. A proof of this may be the ethnonym

(H)ungarus / Ungar / Venger, etc. generally applied to the Hungarians by the western languages; the name is derived from the Turkic ethnic name *on-ogur* 'ten ogurs, ten tribes'. A Greek historiographer, Priscus Rhetor, reports on the march of the Onogur tribes to the northern coasts of the Black Sea, dating the event about 463 A. D. The regions adjacent to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov might have been proper places for the Hungarians to borrow those loanwords of Alanic (Ossetic) origin still existing in their language. A legend of origin preserved in the Hungarian Chronicle by Simon Kézai (*Gesta Hungarorum*, from the end of the 13th century) also refers to that region. According to the legend, two ancestral heroes of the Hungarians, *Hunor* and *Mogor* (= *Magyar*) went hunting one day. In the wilderness they began to chase a hind which, however, ran and found escape in the swamps of the Maeōtis Palus (Sea of Azov). Although they had irretrievably lost the hind, the two hunters found the place fit for raising animals and moved there with their people. Later they went roving and raped the wives of *Belar*'s sons; this name may be identical with the ethnic name *Bolgar* and as such can be considered another item of linguistic support for *Hungarian—Bulgar-Turkic* (*Chuvash*) connections, i.e. Magyar and Onogur contacts. They also raped the two daughters of the Alan prince *Dula*, one of whom married *Hunor* and the other *Mogor*. It is to these two unions that the Chronicle traces the origin of both the Hungarians (Magyar= = Mogor) and the Huns of Attila. The connection of the history of the Huns with that of the Hungarians is, of course, mere fiction.

Another opinion holds that the Hungarians of those days remained in the transition zone between the steppe belt and the forest belt. Nevertheless, it can well be supposed that one segment of the Hungarian people moved to the Russian plains, crossing the Volga together with the confederation of the Onogur tribes, while the rest remained in the country situated in present-day Bashkiria, whence they migrated south—southwest, beyond the Volga at a subsequent date. There is still another theory, according to which a fragment of the Magyars of Bashkiria never left the left bank of the Volga but remained there under the sphere of influence of the Volga Bulgars. It must have been there that a Dominican friar called Julianus met them in the 13th century; he was able to understand the language of the Hungarians who had remained behind in Bashkiria. In the course of centuries, the Hungarians of the ancient country called *Magna Hungaria* by the source works were assimilated by the Bashkirs whose basic groups had come from West Siberia.

It is beyond dispute that a very considerable portion of the Hungarian people lived in the plains of Southern Russia (more precisely, in the areas situated between the Don and the Dniepr) from the 5th to 7th centuries onwards. Of course, it is not only the Onogur empire that we have to take into consideration in those regions of contemporary East Europe: the political aspect of the region was extensively transformed by the appearance of the Türks. The Türks (in Chinese sources: *T'u-chüeh*) overthrew in 552 the rule of a supposedly Mongol people — called *Juan-juan* by Chinese sources — in the territories of present-day Mongolia, and established the most powerful nomadic empire that ever dominated the vast territories

extending from China to Byzantium before the days of Genghis Khan. After a period of initial flourish, however, that empire of Türks was broken up to form a row of successor states (during the 7th century). Among these we find the Khazars (former vassals of the Western Türks) occupying the areas bordered by the Don, the lower courses of the Volga and the Caspian Sea. This empire also included fragments of Chuvash-speaking peoples. The power of the Onogurs was greatly undermined by the Khazars. It was due to this that a group of the Onogurs moved to settle toward the west, while another group migrated toward the north. The former came to be known as Danubian Bulgars, the latter founded the Volgaic Bulgar empire which continued to exist to the days of the great Mongol invasion of the 13th century when the Tatar Khanate of Kazan was established.

Accordingly, the Hungarian ethnic groups that lived in the Onogur confederation in the 6th century came under Türk—Khazar rule in the 7th century. This explains why the Hungarians were called Turks — *tourkoi* — by various sources for a long time. It is not likely anyway that the whole body of the Hungarian people lived in the Khazar Khanate, but since the Khazars' rule was extended to the neighbouring peoples as well, it must have affected the Hungarians of the Don—Dniepr interfluve, who performed military duties to the Khazars.

As regards ethnic character, language and religion, the Khazar Khanate shows a multifarious picture. In this combination of peoples, the Hungarians must have been exposed to manifold and varied influences which all have left their marks on the linguistic development, cultural, social-political life, and ethnic character of the Hungarian people.

The population of the dual system of Khanate governed by a chief-king and a vice-king was largely dependent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, but they also had manufacturers (craftsmen) and merchants in their towns. Supposedly, the Hungarian ancestors had greatly increased their knowledge of agriculture, manufacturing industry, trade and commerce, social organization, etc. while they were living in the Khazar zone of influence. This hypothesis is elevated to the rank of practical evidence by the existence of a number of Hungarian loanwords dating from the period under discussion (words of Chuvash character for the most part, although also words deriving from other non-Chuvash-Turkic languages) which are very instructive in demonstrating the changes in the mode of living, economy and cultural standards. The evidence provided by these words is well in agreement with archeological results.

As regards economic resources, stock-breeding had advanced surprisingly: in addition to horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry were also raised with highly developed techniques, so that the protein demand of the population, was covered, for the most part, not by hunting, but by stock-breeding in the centuries preceding the Conquest (from the 6th—7th century, or possibly from a still earlier date). It is remarkable furthermore that numerous and very significant loanwords had been borrowed from Turkic languages in such important spheres of concepts as are connected with agriculture by means of the plough, or horticulture; these words bear witness to the fact that the Hungarians of the pre-Conquest period had not relied ex-

clusively on stock-breeding, but they tilled the land around their winter settlements on the river banks, they knew how to plough, how to sow the seeds of plants, how to grow corn, vegetables, and also fruit and vines. That is to say, they had already adopted a comparatively settled way of living. As a matter of course, the traditions of a nomadic past survived to a certain extent, e.g. in customs, popular traditions, costumes, etc. This form of life is therefore usually called semi-nomadic as it consists in pastoral stock-breeding combined with foraging in the winter, complemented by plough tillage and horticulture. All these taken together show a large-scale transformation of society as opposed to the fur-hunting and horse-keeping ways of the Ugric period. It is very likely that these two extreme forms were connected by a transitional nomadic stock-breeding period.

The dependence of the Hungarians on the Khazar power ceased at the beginning of the 9th century. It was at that time that three Kabar tribes rebelled against the Khazars and joined the Hungarians who at that time lived in the vicinity of Khazaria, in a country called *Levedia*, a vaguely delimitable area between the Don and the Dniepr. The Hungarians subsequently (probably at the end of the 9th century) migrated westward under the leadership of Chieftain *Levedi* and settled in *Etelköz* an area between the Dniestr and the Prut. Etelköz was probably a transitional settlement for the migrating Hungarians. The source for these historical data is Constantine Porphyrogenitus (middle of the 10th century).

According to the Hungarian chroniclers of the Middle Age, the process of occupying the Carpathian Basin began about the year 895—896 when Chieftain *Árpád*, the ruler of all Hungarian tribes, crossed the Carpathian Mountains from the north at the pass of Verecke and occupied the country. In contrast to this, Constantine has a different version of the story, speaking about a route through Transylvania of the conquering Hungarians, who were compelled to leave their former country by the Pechenegs attacking the Hungarian settlements when their military troops were absent.

We have many reasons to think that in reality the events took place in a somewhat more complicated manner. First of all, it seems very likely that contrary to the chroniclers, who maintain that Árpád founded and first occupied the country, the Hungarians had adopted the institution of the dual kingship from the Khazars. Nominal rule over all the tribes was attributed to the chief-king (*kende*) who was revered with awe as a symbolical and mythological being, while the practical power of state administration was exercised by the vice-king (*gyula*) who was also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In this way, the system of dual kingship was effective in ensuring the all-dominating central power over all the tribes whose chieftains also possessed escorts of their own. Besides the leaders of the clans and their military retinue, a considerable number of common ranks represented the third important layer of society. Árpád was the vice-king and commander-in-chief (*gyula*) of the Hungarians at the time of the Conquest, and the chief-king at the same time was chieftain *Kurszán*. What Hungarian tradition and the chroniclers say about the Conquest, is actually related to the military preparation (or perhaps the ending) of the occupation, i.e. Árpád's marching in through the pass of Verecke. It is

from the sources of Mohammedan historians that light is thrown on the institution of the dual kingship. It is equally due to them that we have knowledge of the following story: In the absence of the vice-king and his army, the tribes that had stayed in Etelköz under the leadership of Kurszán were attacked by the united troops of the Pechenegs and the Bulgars; the Hungarian tribes thus forced to flee from Etelköz got into the Carpathian Basin via Transylvania as a second wave. Chief-King Kurszán may have arrived with them.

2. The year of the Conquest is traditionally given as 896. Recent investigations, however, have adduced arguments in support of another view, according to which the marching in of Árpád and Kurszán was but a closing act of a protracted development. The Hungarians are thus thought of as having settled in their present-day country in two distinct phases of invasion. This theory, based on archeological, physical-anthropological, and historical considerations, starts from the observation that the invading Hungarians of 896 could not have arrived with such bulky masses of Finno-Ugric population as would have exceeded the number of people they found in the new country. Anyway, if we omit the possibility of so high a number of immigrants, we can find no explanation of the fact that the newly arrived Hungarians were able to assimilate in hardly more than a hundred years' span of time the entire population of Hungary of the Avar period; nor could they have been successful in establishing a state of their own at the end of the tenth century unless a mass-assimilation of fragmentary peoples with different ethnic character and idiom had taken place.

This being the case, the idea arose that an earlier "ethnical" occupation of the Carpathian Basin must have taken place long before Árpád and his people arrived in the country. A hypothetical infiltration of Hungarian ethnic groups from the seventh to the ninth century could well account for the presence of a Hungarian population which Árpád and his chieftains found here, and on whose cooperation they based their power. That layer of common people which had been living under very poor conditions as a sort of earth-bound working population had built villages and also given names to their places of settlement. The hosts of Árpád arriving from the east with a developed technique of metal-working must have received reliable information about the land and its inhabitants before they settled in it. This supposition is supported by data on mounted Hungarian troops who had visited the interior places of the Carpathian Basin during their rovings prior to 896. Further evidence is supplied by a conspicuous agreement of the tombs of the Avar period with those of the common people in the ninth and tenth centuries, which fact may well be indicative of the continuity of a fairly uniform population necessary for the foundation of a state.

The theory of the ethnic infiltration of the country has been so far mainly propagated by some archeologists who have elaborated an attractive and well-motivated hypothesis in defense of their supposition. The population of Hungary in the pre-Conquest (Avar) times was of a very mixed composition: following the collapse of the Roman *limes* and the

fall of the Huns' empire, we have to surmise a migration of populous ethnic groups approaching the country's territory from the east. The invasion of the Avar period took place in the 6th and 7th centuries. Particular significance may be attached to the appearance of a new population movement around the year 670. Ethnic groups of various description had accumulated in the South Russian steppe region; their conglomeration may have included Mongols, Turks, Iranians, Slavs, and also Hungarians — Finno-Ugric in origin and language but Turkic in appearance and perhaps not quite negligible as regards their number. The various ethnic groups approaching from the eastern steppe regions had lived together along the Danube and Tisza rivers from the 7th century on, and an integration of lingual and cultural influences, which must have been extensive, continuous and mutual between them, had resulted in a comprising assimilation in the 7th or the 8th century. Of course, the process of assimilation had begun in the South Russian steppe already, and it ended in a preponderance of Finno-Ugric features in the language of an association of peoples that arrived at the Danube — Tisza Interfluve between the 6th and the 9th centuries. (It is a matter of common knowledge that in other instances the assimilation of the steppe peoples brought different results: with the Danube-Bulgars the Slavonic language gained the upper hand, and with the Bashkirs the Turkic language.)

In this manner a slow, though less spectacular, process of infiltration may have preceded the Conquest of the ninth century, resulting in the appearance of an earth-bound population fairly uniform both ethnically and linguistically, in the absence of which Prince Géza could hardly have organized the state around 980.

3. Thus we have a picture, whose meaning can be summed up as follows: the Hungarians organized after the Turkic fashion and influenced by Turkic culture, living together with Turkic tribes, had been widely disseminated in the vast South Russian plains by the fifth century A.D. Parts of them had reached the Danube region, in company of other ethnic groups, at a relatively early date. These may be regarded as the first outposts of the Magyars who were in search of a place of final settlement. Others had remained in the area between the Don and Dniepr where they lived first under the supremacy of the Onogur, then the Khazar empire. At the same time, a smaller portion of them found shelter in territories of the Volgaic Bulgar state. Many Hungarian speaking fragments must have disappeared, leaving no trace whatever in the ethnic composite of Ugric—Hungarian, Turkic, Slavonic, and other nomadic tribes. In turn, the various fragments of peoples who settled in the Carpathian Basin were assimilated by the Hungarian-speaking population.

This complicated process of disintegration and amalgamation which took place in repeated phases seems to corroborate our supposition that the structure of the Hungarian language, together with its most important grammatical devices, had evolved — from Ugric dialectal antecedents — during the period of that particular millennium, viz. prior to the period of migration. It goes without saying that significant changes in Hungarian were bound to set in after the fifth century as well (particularly the

vocabulary was augmented by new elements), but the most important and decisive changes in the structure of the language had already taken place before the fifth century. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the language of the descendents of those Hungarians who had been dispersed around the sixth century A.D. and the language of the inhabitants of Magna Hungaria remained mutually intelligible as late as the thirteenth century.

STRUCTURE OF THE PROTO-URALIC LANGUAGE

Phonology

1. The PU consonant system had three stops (*p, t, k*), four nasals (*m, n, ń, ŋ*), three sibilants (*s, ś, š*), two affricates (*č, ć*), and a few semi-vowels and liquids (*w, j; l, ľ, r*). The following correlations are typical of this system : closure (*p : w, č : š*, etc.), palatalization (*n : ń, l : ľ, s : ś*, etc.), and resonance (*p : m, t : n*, etc.). The existence of a correlation of quantity is disputed. There was no distinction of voice.

Consonant clusters occurred in medial but not in initial position. Even medially we find mainly combinations of nasal + homorganic stop or affricate; stop + stop or affricate; or sibilant + stop.

2. About the PU vocalism we can only say, at the present state of our knowledge, that the following six phonemes must have occurred in the first syllable of words in the basic vocabulary:

u	*i*
o	*e*
a	*ε*

In addition to these, the existence of the *ü, ɔ, ị* sounds or, for example, that of reduced and certain long vowels is contestable. These actually can, for the most part, be derived from the above-listed six vowels.

In second syllables (in final position), however, the vowel could be selected in two ways: the palatal vowel in the first syllable could be followed by *ε* or *e* in the second one, while the velar vowel in the first syllable would be followed by *a* or *e* (that is, *e* is a neutral sound from the point of view of vowel harmony). As a rule, *a, ε, e* and possibly *i* may have occurred in the suffixes.

3. In all likelihood, the dynamic word stress used to fall on the first syllable, but the main stress of the word in a concrete sentence taken as a whole unit was not unconditionally fixed to some predetermined syllable, for this could have been subject to shifts, owing to logical-intellectual, emotional, emphatic or rhythmical factors influencing the flow of speech.

Word Classes

As regards parts of speech, the words of the basic vocabulary can be classed in three groups. Besides a monosyllabic category of pronouns (P) we have to consider two more parts of speech: bi- or trisyllabic nouns (N) and verbs (V).

1. Within the N class, perhaps a sub-class of defective words may have developed, where the root-morpheme was used in one single inflected form (or two or three inflected forms). Antecedents of the present-day adverbs, postpositions, modifiers and other relational words may have belonged to this category.

Initially, there was no need for any formal distinction of the sub-class of adjectives: any substantive placed before another one could have fulfilled the role of an adjective used as an attribute. In the course of time, however, there arose the necessity of making a formal distinction in respect to such occasional adjectives, and as a result, an adjectival sub-class in the nominal category began to be differentiated.

It is superfluous to register the participles and the infinitives of that period as a special class of speech. Essentially these are nothing else but deverbative nouns, having nominal characteristics which, however, often play the role of the predicate in the sentence; therefore they may be regarded, in view of their syntactical position, as belonging in the verbal category. It would be really unnecessary to class the ambivalent (now nominal, now verbal) participles and infinitives as a special part of speech, since the same kind of ambivalence occurs also in connection with the nouns.

In the PU language, as in the present-day Samoyed or Mordvinian languages, nouns could be used as verbs without the addition of a denominative verbal suffix; only verbal personal suffixes were attached and, what is more, such forms could also be complemented with the marks of Past Tense. Thus, they were a sort of noun convertible into (pseudo-) verbs; e.g. the word *sawa* 'good' in Nenets, which has the following forms:

Present Tense

1. *maṅ sawa-dm*	'I am good'
2. *pidar sawa-n*	'you are good'
3. *pida sawa*	'he is good'

Past Tense

1. *maṅ sawa-dam-ś*	'I was good'
2. *pidar sawa-na-ś*	'you were good'
3. *pida sawa-ś*	'he was good'

In effect, from the semantic point of view, the convertible nouns of this type also contain a copula (an auxiliary), although it receives a morphological representation by the verbal personal suffix added to the stem (or by

zero personal suffix, e.g. in Sg3 person). Of course, the convertible nouns occurring in Samoyed assume this function only casually and *ad hoc* in the domain of verbs. They cannot be taken for real verbs, since they preserve their original nominal character. These condensed forms still correspond to the predicates being composed of noun + auxiliary verb in other languages, with the difference that the nominal and verbal parts are amalgamated to form a unit in them. They are portmanteau formations, which may be effective in clarifying the nature of the nominal predicate so characteristic of the Hungarian idiom. The Hungarian often applies in the 3rd person a nominal predicate of zero morpheme, without copula: *ő jó* 'he (is) good'; *ő fiú* 'he (is) a boy'; *ők fiúk* 'they (are) boys'. It is evident that the verbal part of the predicate is represented by the zero morpheme (in this manner the examples are identical in form with the *pida sawa* formations of the Nenets language), which can be further illustrated by the following paradigms:

én jó vagyok	↓	'I am good'
te jó vagy		'you are good'
ő jó Ø		'he is good'
ő jó volt	↓	'he was good'
ő jó lesz		'he will be good'
ő jó Ø		'he is good'

2. The number of ambivalent (convertible) morphemes must have been rather considerable in Proto-Uralic. It certainly must have been greater than it is in the present-day members of the Uralic language family. Namely, there were not only convertible nouns (i.e. nouns used occasionally as verbs) but there were at the same time really ambivalent roots too, the same morpheme having assumed now a nominal, now a verbal function. For example, the word meaning 'smoke' (noun) and 'to smoke' (verb) may have been designated by one and the same sequence of sounds, and its nominal or verbal function depended upon the character of the suffixes added, and partly upon the context of the sentence. Since, however, a considerable part of the suffixes could invariably be attached to both nouns and verbs, the distributional and environmental factors had greater importance than did the morphological designation in respect to the grammatical character. Perhaps the forms with markings of mood and case suffixes are the only exceptions to this rule: the former being verbs exclusively, the latter mainly substantives.

Traces of this system can be demonstrated from present-day Hungarian as well. We have words which are at the same time both nouns and verbs: *a bogyót megcsípte a fagy* 'berries were nipped by the frost', but: *a víz nulla fokon fagy* 'water freezes at zero'. In these sentences it is the environment that gives us information about the grammatical category in which the word *fagy* should be classed. Of course, in other cases the suffix added can also speak about the grammatical nature of the word irrespective of the surroundings in the body of the sentence. For example, the form

fagy-ban 'in the frost' can be taken for a noun exclusively because of the presence of the case suffix *-ban*; in the form *fagy-sz* 'you are freezing' the verbal personal suffix intr. Sg2 refers to the verbal character.

This is the background from which we can explain a very particular phenomenon: there are a number of correspondences in Uralic etymologies whose members are used in some cognate languages as nouns, and in others as verbs without any substantival or verbal suffixes added. Such kinds of etymologies are, for example:

Hungarian *fej*, Finnish *pää* 'head' ~ Nenets *pa* 'to begin',
Hungarian *fal* 'to swallow' ~ Finnish *pala* 'bit',
Hungarian *fúr* 'to bore' ~ Finnish *pura* 'borer, awl',
Hungarian *íz* 'taste, flavour' ~ Lappish *hâkse* 'to smell', etc.

3. It follows from what has been said that the Proto-Uralic language fails to observe the rule, generally prevailing in the majority of the cognate languages, according to which the formal distinctive marks of verbs are representations of person, tense and mood relations. If designation of person and time could be effectuated in some cases by the noun as well, then this fact itself would be indicative not only of the labile nature of the limits separating the categories N and V but also of another very important fact, namely that the only formal distinctive means of category V consisted of the capacity of designating mood and perhaps mode of action.

4. Of course, words in category P were much fewer than those in categories N and V, but their significance was brought out by their frequent occurrence, by their determinative function, and also by their application as special grammatical means.

The original Uralic forms of the personal pronouns are reconstructed as **me* for Sgl., **te* for Sg2., and **se* for Sg3. persons. The plural and the dual variations of these pronouns were derived from the singular roots beginning with *m-*, *t-*, and *s-*.

Of the demonstrative pronominal roots most frequent were perhaps **tɛ* (cf. Hungarian *t é - l — túl* 'here and there'), **e* (cf. Hungarian *e-z* 'this'), these specifying the less remote, and **to* (cf. Hungarian *tél — t ú - l* 'here and there'), **o* (cf. Hungarian *a-z* 'that', Hungarian *o-tt* 'there'), these specifying the more remote things.

As interrogative pronouns, **ke* (cf. Hungarian *ki* 'who'), **ku* (cf. Hungarian *ho-gy* 'how', *hol-* 'where'), **mi* (cf. Hungarian *mi* 'what') were most frequent.

The other kinds of pronouns to be found in the cognate languages (reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, relative, and indefinite pronouns) came into existence at a later time.

Morphological System

1. Pronouns might have played a decisive part in the development of certain suffixes. Thus, for example, a very characteristic set of suffixes, the various forms of possessive personal suffixes (Px), can be reduced to

the personal pronouns. The Hungarian language, as well as related idioms, is able to designate the possessor also by means of Px attached to the possession:

hajó 'boat, ship':	*hajó-m*	'my boat'
	hajó-d	'your boat'
	hajó-ja	'his boat', etc.

What the given examples contain in the morphemes *-m* for PxSg1, *-d* for PxSg2, and *-ja* for PxSg3 are nothing else but the results of suffixation of the personal pronouns **me* 'I', **te* 'you', and **se* 'he' of the PU language. In the Hungarian language the vowel of the pronominal element has been eroded, the **t* of the second person has become voiced, the **s* of the third person has been eroded, and the vowel sound has merged with the root-ending vowel to form *-á/-é*, which later shortened into *-a/-e* and received at the same time, in certain root-types, the glide *-j-*, this constituting now the anterior morphophoneme of PxSg3.

The systems of Pxs are realized according to an identical principle in other Uralic languages. By identical principles of realization we mean that the Pxs of all Uralic languages are derived from corresponding personal pronouns, and thus they can be deduced from common forms of origin, and further that this Px-system contains indications, in addition to the person of the possessor, of the number of possessors (singular, plural, and in certain languages dual), and what is more, very often reference is also made to the number of possessions (the number of the possessors usually being expressed by appending a number-mark to the Px, and the number of possessions by placing pluralizing, i.e. dualizing elements before the Px, respectively).

From these phenomena we may infer that a Px-system must have existed in the PU language in which the personal pronouns were first used mainly enclitically, and were suffixed at a later stage of development: here the Pxs were represented by the singular and plural (possibly dual) forms of the personal pronouns, or by certain modified forms thereof. Accordingly, the Px-system of the Uralic period may be reconstructed as follows:

Singular	Plural (i.e. Dual)
1. *-me*	*-me* + Plural (Dual)
2. *-te*	*-te* + ,, ,,
3. *-se*	*-se* + ,, ,,

2. It has already been said in passing that the proto-language had means to express number. The singular was unmarked; the dual was marked by **-KA* (this category is extant only in the Samoyed and the Ob-Ugric languages and traces of it can be found in Lapp), while the plural was formed in several ways. It was most frequently marked by **-t* both in nouns and verbs where it marked the plurality of the subject and the plurality of the predicate. (This **-t* does not exist in Hungarian.)

In addition to this, **-j* and **-n* also served as plural markers. These two suffixes are, in fact, found in Pxs and indicate plurality of posses-

sion, e.g. *hajó-i-m* 'my boats' (vs. *hajó-m* 'my boat') where Hungarian *-i-* continues an older **-j*. Furthermore, **-j* and **-n* occur in the verbal systems of some related languages, where they indicate the plural direct object in the objective conjugation, as in Nenets *mada-i-n* 'I am cutting [more than two objects]' (vs. *mada-w* 'I am cutting [it]').

The plural of nouns in Hungarian is formed by the suffixation of *-k* (*hajó-k* 'boats'). The same element very often recurs in the plural forms of pronouns, Pxs, and Vxs (e.g. *ez* 'this'; *eze-k* 'these'; PxPl1 *-nk* < < *-mu-k*, etc.). The morpheme *-k* with plural value is also found in Mordvinian, Baltic Finnish and Ostyak (e.g. Finnish *me* < **me-k* 'we', Livonian *me-k* 'we'). A possible Finno-Ugric origin of the **-k* plural marker has therefore also been postulated.

3. Paradigms of nominal inflexion could be formed by connecting some six or seven case suffixes to the root. The Nominative had no special marking. The Uralic proto-language had the following case-categories and suffixes:

1. Nominative	Ø
2. Genitive	*-n* or Ø
3. Accusative	*-m* or Ø
4. Locative I.	*-na/-nɛ*
5. Locative II.	*-t*
6. Ablative	*-ta/-tɛ*
7. Lative-Dative I.	*-ń*
8. Lative-Dative II.	*-k*

In the system of declension of the living Uralic languages the adverbial suffixes Nos 4—8 are, as a rule, of peripheral position. They usually did not maintain their primitive forms and functions but developed into adverbs, and can be partly found as closing elements of certain forms fossilized into postpositions. For instance, the suffix of the Locative I. has an unchanged form in Finnish but its function is that of the Essive (adverb of condition), *pappi-na* 'as priest', while in Hungarian the same suffix has survived in *-n* form, very often used as an element of secondary suffixes (e.g. in the Inessive suffix *-be-n*, or in the Superessival *-o-n/-e-n/-ö-n*, etc.), and is also found in final position in some defective words (e.g. *ellen* 'against', *után* 'after', *rögtön* 'at once'). Only vague traces can be discovered in Hungarian of the Locative II. suffix. Apart from adverbial words and postpositions (e.g. *i-tt* 'here', *melle-tt* 'beside'), only some names of towns have preserved the memory of this nearly extinct Locative suffix (e.g. *Kolozsvár-t* 'in Kolozsvár', *Pécs-ett* 'in Pécs', etc.).

The suffixes of the Genitive and the Accusative mentioned under Nos 2 and 3 have not survived in Hungarian, but enjoy a current use in the other cognate languages. It should be noted, however, that the possessive and objective constructions had two ways of expression in the proto-language, just as in the majority of the living languages. Besides the Genitive with the suffix **-n* and the Accusative with the suffix **-m*, there existed possessive and objective constructions where the case had no mark whatever. The unmarked object of the sentence referred to indeterminate object,

while the objective form with the *-*m* suffix pointed to a determinate object. In contrast to the Accusative, no functional duality can be demonstrated for the use of unmarked and marked possessive attributes. We have to mention, however, that even the unmarked possessive constructions were not necessarily of one and the same pattern. Parallel with the absolute unmarkedness, examples of which can be mainly observed in the possessive–attributive constructions of some Uralic languages (e.g. Hungarian *folyó-part* 'riverside' = 'the bank of the river' ← *folyó* 'river' + *part* 'bank'), Px is added to one of the members of the possessive construction (usually to the possession, sometimes to the possessor, and sometimes to both) to express the possessor, that is the possessive relationship: e.g. Hungarian *város* 'city' + *ház* 'house' + PxSg3 *-a* → *városháza* 'city-hall'; *ház* 'house' + + PxSg1 *-am* + *nép* 'people, folk' + PxSg3 *-e* → *házam népe* 'the occupants of my house'; *ház* 'house' + *nép* 'people' + PxSg1 *-em* → *háznépem* 'my household family'. This type of construction is very archaic, but it does exist in the cognate languages preserving the Genitive form with the suffix *-*n*. The variability manifest in the formation of the extant possessive–attributive constructions can be safely surmised in connection with the proto-language relations.

Up to now, only the locative suffixes and the *-*m* suffix of the Accusative have been derived from pronouns of the proto-language. The former have been brought in combination with the demonstrative pronominal roots beginning with **n*- and **t*-, the latter with the personal pronoun for Sg1. **me*. Without taking a definite stand on this question, we would like to emphasize that these case suffixes already existed in the Uralic period: the problems of their formation lead to the depths of the pre-Uralic period where hypotheses can be framed in great abundance. It is important to underline this statement because some researchers are prone to restrict the formation of grammatical morphemes to the Uralic period of the proto-language, paying no heed to the fact that the formation of the proto-language itself was a result of several ten thousand years' development. It would not be correct either in principle or in practice to search for the cradle of all grammatical categories in the Uralic period of a few thousand years' duration, particularly if we consider that the Uralic proto-language had a fairly well developed grammatical system. But apart from this, that stage of development must have had an immense prehistory, the span of which offers ampler possibilities for the localization of the questions of origin connected with the means of syntactic-morphological expression, as well as with the other problems of glotto-genesis.

The formation of case suffixes has long been confined to the Uralic period, because so-called "unmarked adverbs", i.e. adverbs where no grammatical means is used to express the adverbial relationship, have been demonstrated from more than one Uralic language, which fact was taken as a reflection of a primitive lingual condition (e.g. Hungarian *négy* 'four' + *kéz* 'hand' + *láb* 'foot' → *négykézláb* 'on one's hands and feet, on all fours'; *vasárnap* 'Sunday, on Sunday').

Seeing this, some assumed that the proto-language invariably had unmarked adverbs, and the case suffixes came into being at a subsequent stage

of development in PU. But these unmarked adverbs — which are not frequent anyway — are partly forms deprived of suffixes and partly words denoting time, place, state or circumstance which are, by their very semantic contents, able to express relationships of time, place, state or other circumstances. Constructions of this kind could have developed in other languages as well; but it would be as futile to make conclusions as to the preflexional state of the Indo-Germanic proto-language from such expressions as the German *Ende Dezember*, or the English *every day* as to surmise traces of unmarked adverbs dominating the proto-language from the existence of such construction forms in the Finno-Ugric languages.

4. An attempt at reconstructing the conjugational paradigms of proto-Uralic has to face a number of impeding circumstances. First of all, the different cognate languages display great differences among themselves in this respect. The high degree of divergence can be accounted for by the fact that the conjugational systems of the various cognate languages were reorganized after the disintegration of proto-Uralic and the particular languages received their actual systems of conjugation in their separate lives. We cannot infer a complete absence of conjugation in proto-Uralic from this, all the more so since the systems of conjugation of the Finno-Ugric languages show certain agreements that can be explained by assuming a common ancestral system.

It cannot be regarded as a decisive argument, although it is still worth mentioning, that the personal suffixes of verbs in the Uralic languages are, for the most part, agglutinated forms of personal pronouns (much the same as the possessive suffixes).

It is a weighty argument in the dispute that the Uralic languages are distinguished by a particular feature inasmuch as the verbs in them may have two forms in Sg3: one without Vx (more exactly: root + zero Vx) and another with Vx.

In the Ugric, Samoyed and Mordvin languages, for instance, a subjective (indeterminative) conjugation is distinguished from an objective (determinative) conjugation:

	Without Vx		With Vx	
Hungarian	*lát*	'he sees'	*lát-ja*	'he sees it'
Vogul	*toti*	'he brings'	*toti-te*	'he brings it'
Ostyak	*tet*	'he eats'	*tet-te*	'he eats it'
Nenets	*junrā*	'he questions'	*junrā-da*	'he questions him'
Mordvin	*palị*	'he kisses'	*pala-sị*	'he kisses him', etc.

This type of duality can be found in other Finno-Ugric languages, where the dual form of the determinative and indeterminative conjugation is absent. The functional differentiation of the Sg3 forms with and without suffixes is, of course, not so characteristic of these languages. Nevertheless, it appears undoubtedly from the examples of these languages that the Sg3 form with personal suffix co-occurs with transitive verbs, and the form

without a suffix with intransitive verbs. Based on the duality covering the whole of the language family, and the related functional features, we may firmly assert that the verb had two forms of Sg3 as early as the proto-Uralic period. The form with the personal suffix referred to the determined object of the verb at that time. The pronoun of the 3rd person which was suffixed as a Vx in such forms was originally a pronoun with the value of the Accusative.

Thus the difference between the determinative and indeterminative conjugation of the 3rd person existed in proto-Uralic. Later, in the separate lives of the language groups, this distinction of the 3rd person was transferred to the first and second persons as well. Accordingly, determinative (objective) and indeterminative (subjective) Vxs were distinguished for all three persons.

The Vxs of proto-Uralic can be reconstructed in the following manner:

Singular

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
-m	*-t*	Indet. Ø
		Det. *-se*

As regards the function of the Vx of the 3rd person which is derived from the pronoun, there is a pronounced genetic difference. Vx1 and Vx2 (i.e. their personal pronominal preliminaries) referred to the subject of the verb. In the series of paradigms representing the subject of the verb there was no need to specially indicate the subject in the 3rd person, since the 3rd person received sufficient identification by the absence of a personal suffix in contrast to the 1st and 2nd persons marked by Vxs. And where *-*se* Vx presented itself for the 3rd person, it did not refer to — in contradistinction with the other Vxs — the subject of the verb, but it indicated an indirect reference to the determinate object of the verb.

It is worth mentioning that the verb form without a suffix in the 3rd person shows full agreement with the Sg3 form without Vx as known from paradigms of convertible nouns of the predicative conjugation. That is why in several related languages a secondary Vx which originally had the function of a participial suffix occurs in the 3rd person:

Hungarian: *a fiú olvasott* [Past Sg3] 'the boy has read',
but: *olvasott* [Past participle] *könyv* '(widely) read book',
Estonian: *tule-b* [Present Sg3] 'he comes',
but: *tule-v* [Present participle] 'coming', etc.

Two markers for the past tense may be reconstructed for proto-Uralic, *-*j* and *-*ś*. Hungarian has preserved the former in the archaic form *-é* of the imperfect tense. In addition, suffixes of past or present participles were also used for indicating tenses. Interestingly enough, the tense-value

of the verb may have been a function of the aspect inherent in the verbal root. There are some modern related languages in which a form which carries no tense marker may be in the present in one verb and in the past in another, depending on the semantic content of the verbal root. This is an archaic feature.

Devices for indicating mood in the verb is a typical and very important feature in Uralic. It exists in Hungarian and in most of the related languages. Thus, the Baltic-Finnish languages have four moods, Ob-Ugric has five, Mordvinian seven, and Nenets ten. Some of these moods have come into existence in the separate lives of the individual languages, since in the proto-language, just as in Hungarian, there may have been at most three moods in the verbal system: indicative, conditional-optative, and imperative. Of these, the indicative had no special mark. The imperative was marked by *-*k* and the conditional-optative by *-*nek*. The imperative may also have been expressed by additional stress on the verbal root, without the addition of an overt suffix.

Syntax

As we have seen in the above characterization which is of necessity sketchy, the Uralic proto-language was rich in morphological devices. The grammatical elements which can be reconstructed are considerable in number, although the full morphological apparatus of the proto-language is not likely ever to be recovered entirely. In spite of the obstacles in the way of a closer scrutiny, the opinion is well supported that synthetic sentence structure must have had a very important role in the proto-language. This is corroborated by the following features: system of case suffixes that can be comparatively well reconstructed; the system of possessive suffixes; nominal paradigms that can be combined with Pxs; verbal conjugation; marking of number; possibilities of indicating moods and tenses; a great variety of participial suffixes; a considerable number of other derivative suffixes; the congruence between predicate and subject; subordinate construction of complex sentences giving way to a form of communication in which the parts of a simple sentence are grouped around a centrally positioned finite verb surrounded by verbal nouns (participial constructions), etc.

Besides synthetic constructions, we have clear traces of analytical ones. We have seen that in certain cases the predicate was not marked by any formal means in the Sg3, and the object, the possessor and the subject were always left unmarked. Nevertheless, the value of words as part of a sentence could not be confused in spite of their having no distinctive marks whatever, not even in such an extreme case, since the order of sequence essentially determined their role in the sentence: the usual order was subject, object, predicate (SOV). Apart from this, another very important rule of word order can be generalized for the proto-language, according to which the rectum (modifier) preceded the regent (modified) of the construction. In conformity with this rule, the attribute was placed before the modified word, the object before the verb, and the adverbial complement before the part of the sentence determined by it. Of course, other pre-

requisites of analytical constructions may have been equally resorted to: In all probability there were also postpositions, auxiliary verbs (e.g. the negative verb, the verb of existence), and other relational words.

It would be difficult to say anything about the ratio of frequency between analytical and synthetic structures. In any case, the synthetic features appear to be more conspicuous and more decisive than the analytical tendencies.

CONTACTS BETWEEN PROTO-URALIC AND OTHER LANGUAGES

1. Proto-Uralic was exposed to the influence of many societies and communities whose languages must have been interrelated with the primitive language during the nearly one million years of human evolution.

Convincing proof of this is supplied by the identity of words that can be demonstrated from the vocabulary of the proto-language and from other languages, or language families.

Most recent of these are loanwords reflecting early Indo-Iranian linguistic conditions. The time of their adoption can be assigned to the Finno-Ugric period (ca. 3—2 mill. B.C.; the assumed place of borrowing was perhaps the Volga region). For example:

Indo-Iranian	**śarva*	> PFU	**śarve*	(> Hungarian *szarv*)	'horn'
Indo-Iranian	**śata*	> PFU	**śata*	(> Hungarian *száz*)	'hundred'
Indo-Iranian	**septa*	> PFU	**säptä*	(> Hungarian *hét*)	'seven'
Indo Iranian	**orbho*	> PFU	**orpa*	(> Hungarian *árva*)	'orphan'

etc.

Besides Indo-Iranian, no other layer of loanwords from the proto-language has been demonstrated so far, although there exist a considerable number of words in it which show fair agreement with words of other languages. A good number of words bear striking resemblance, for instance, to words of similar meaning in proto-Indo-European:

Indo-European	**nōmn-*	~ PU **nime*	(> Hungarian *név*)	'name'
Indo-European	**ṷed-*	~ PU **wite*	(> Hungarian *víz*)	'water'
Indo-European	**mezg-* ~ **mozg-*	~ PU **mośke*	(> Hungarian *mos*)	'to wash'

etc.

No borrowing of words from one mother-language by the other can be regarded as likely in respect to the last-mentioned group of words, partly for phonetic and partly for linguistic-geographical reasons. Agreements of similar description — frustrating all explanation by adoption — can be demonstrated in relation to Uralic and Yukaghir, Uralic and Turkic (i.e. Altaic), Uralic and the Chukchee group, or the Uralic and Eskimo. For instance:

Turkic	*al*	~ PU	**ala*	(> Hungarian *al*)	'lower part'
Turkic	*tüŋ-*	~ PU	**tüŋe*	(> Hungarian *tő*)	'stock, root'
Tungusian	*ńūr*	~ PU	**ńole*	(> Hungarian *nyíl*)	'arrow'
Tunguso-Manchurian	*siŋeri*	~ PU	**šiŋere*	(> Hungarian *egér*)	'mouse'
Yukaghir	*emei*	~ PU	**emä*	(> Hungarian *eme*)	'female, mother'
Yukaghir	*le-*	~ PU	**le-*	(> Hungarian *le-*, *lev-*)	'be, become'
Yukaghir	*mon-*	~ PU	**mana-*	(> Hungarian *mon-d*)	'say'
Yukaghir	*mit*	~ PU	**me*	(> Hungarian *mi*)	'we'
Chukchee	*emme*	~ PU	**emä*	(> Hungarian *eme*)	'female, mother'
Chukchee	*ni̯nni̯*	~ PU	**nime*	(> Hungarian *név*)	'name'
Kamchadal	*kov*	~ PU	**kiwe*	(> Hungarian *kő*)	'stone'
Eskimo	*qapuk*	~ PU	**kumpa*	(> Hungarian *hab*)	'wave, foam'
Eskimo	*kin*	~ PU	**ke-*, **ki-*	(> Hungarian *ki*)	'who' etc.

2. These agreements cannot be ascribed to chance because there are too many of them. The point that also weighs in the scale is that conspicuous similarities can be discovered, in addition to etymologies, in the structural elements of the languages mentioned (between the case-suffixes, derivative suffixes, and other grammatical devices). Considering the nature and the regularities of the agreements, earlier scholars used to suspect some remote relationship of the language groups concerned. This theory does not hold because the agreements between these language families are not such, either in their character or as regards their quantity as to permit the application of a comparative method for reconstructing a proto-language which would serve as a common point of departure. Thus, the agreements cannot be regarded as proofs of linguistic relationship. How are we to think of them, then? The interconnections between Uralic and Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic and the other Euro-Asiatic language families should be considered to be survivals of some very ancient affinity, or connection that once existed in pre-Uralic times. By relationship-like connection we do not understand here a sort of monogenesis of the different languages; rather we would think of an areal affinity through which the language families were connected during the many ten thousand — or perhaps many hundred thousand — years of their development. They may have lived in a contiguous geographical area, and they may have grown as members of a linguistic alliance (Sprachbund) on account of their areal affinity. This remote areal affinity may be responsible for the agreement of basic vocabulary, and the correspondence of morphological elements between the mentioned language families. This areal affinity was the background of the convergent evolution and interrelation of the languages involved. The areal connections that brought about these relationship-like phenomena may be dated to the Mesolithic or Paleolithic stage of the Euro-Asiatic prehistory. As for the site of the connections, Europe could hardly be considered, the zone where the precursors of these language families must have evolved should rather be assigned somewhere in the Asian sub-continent. This, of course, means that we must assume that the forefathers of the proto-Uralic people concerned had moved from the southern parts of Siberia to the Ob-Ural region.

Recently attempts have been made to apply mathematical methods (procedures of probability calculus) to the examination of Euro-Asiatic linguistic relationship. Preliminary calculations show that the probability of a chance agreement of the Uralic morphemes with the morphemes of the other language families is of 0·001 to 0·015. The indices suggest that pre-historic connections among the Uralic, Altaic, Indo-European, Chukchee Kartvelian, and Hamito-Semitic language families can be asserted with a high degree of probability. This theory, however, does not proclaim the linguistic, ethnic, or racial monogenesis of the Euro-Asiatic (or by another summarizing name: the Europo-Siberian) language families. It has no grounds whatever to do so: the agreement of the languages concerned is adequately explained by the supposed areal connections in the glacial period.

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HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

by

BÉLA KÁLMÁN

FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. TO THE TENTH CENTURY A.D.*

The Ob-Ugrian community is believed to have remained intact until the fifth century B.C., at which time the Proto-Hungarian separated from it. Hungarian can therefore be said to exist as of the fifth century B.C.

The first Hungarian written records appear during the middle of the tenth century A.D. Very little is known about the prior development of the Hungarian language save the ninth century, from which data are increasingly available. Undoubtedly, very essential changes had taken place in the said period as regards not only the phonetic system but also the entire structure of the language. These changes may have been due to internal developments, although close contacts which Proto-Hungarian had developed and maintained during migrations and in periods of settled life with various Iranian, Turkic and other ethnic groups were so numerous that we may readily surmise a process of integration of diverse language elements.

Consonants

The Uralic and Finno-Ugric system of consonants did not change essentially before the fifth century B.C. when the Ugric period ended, in spite of all the changes affecting certain sounds in the Ugric stage. A remarkable change set in in the group of sibilants inasmuch as original *ś* was depalatalized: PFU **śata* > H. *sāz* ⟨száz⟩ 'hundred', PFU **śorwa* > H. *sɔrv* ⟨szarv⟩ 'horn', etc. The Proto-Ugric *s* and *š* sounds merged in each of the three Ugric tongues, specifically becoming Hungarian zero (possibly through *h*): PÜg. **sarańa* > H. *ɔrɔń* ⟨arany⟩ 'gold', PFU **sɛppɛ* > H. *ɛpɛ* ⟨epe⟩ 'bile', PFU **šiŋere* > H. *ɛgēr* ⟨egér⟩ 'mouse', etc.

In the course of a fifteen-century period following the separation of the Proto-Hungarian from the Ugric group the Hungarian system of consonants changed essentially. The sequence of change that ensued is more significant than that in the previous Ugric period because it affected the entire system instead of affecting some individual sounds only. Among other things, the correlation of voiced–unvoiced sounds had also taken shape.

* In this chapter the Hungarian linguistic data are given in a simplified phonetic transcription, the system of which has been worked out by Professor János Lotz. (For detailed information see *The Linguistic Reporter*, 1969 X, pp. 17—30.) Beside transcription the forms written with modern Hungarian orthography are presented in brackets ⟨ ⟩. The letters of the Hungarian alphabet and the symbols used in their phonetic transcription are tabulated on pp. 73—74 of this volume.

By what change of which sound the phenomenon of correlative voiced–unvoiced consonants had been introduced into the language is a disputed question. Obviously it started with some medials. First certain oral stops became voiced and clusters of nasal + oral stop assumed a voiced character. Thus medial *t* became a voiced spirant (possibly through *δ*) to *z:* PFU **śata* > H. *sāz* ⟨szász⟩ 'hundred', PFU **kɛte* > H. *kēz* ⟨kéz⟩ 'hand', PU **wete* > H. *vīz* ⟨víz⟩ 'water'. This process may have included the change of medial *k* > *γ* > *Ø* ~ *v* as well as the change of medial *p* > *w* > *v* ~ *Ø*: PFU **pojka* > **pi̯γi̯* > H. *fijū* ⟨fiú⟩ 'boy', PFU **teke-* > **teγi-* > H. *tev-* 'do', PFU **rapa* > *rawa-s* > H. *rɔvɔs* ⟨ravasz⟩ 'sly' (formerly 'fox'). The change that took place in the nasal + oral-stop clusters was still more consequential since it resulted in the birth of voiced counterparts for all oral stops and also one of the affricates. Notably, the nasal sound disappeared in such cases, transferring at the same time the voiced character to the oral stop which followed it: *mp* > *b:* PU **kumpa* > H. *hɔb* ⟨hab⟩ 'foam, wave', PUg. **empɛ* > H. *eb* 'dog', etc.: *nt* > *d:* PFU **pente-* > H. *fed* ~ *föd* 'to cover', PFU **kunta* > H. *hɔd* ⟨had⟩ 'army', etc.; *ŋk* > *g:* PFU **tuŋke* > *dug* 'stuff, put in', PFU **moŋke* > H. *mɔg* ⟨*mag*⟩ 'seed', etc., *ńć* > *ǯ* > *ď:* PFU **lońća* > H. *lāď* ⟨lágy⟩ 'soft', PFU **ońćere* > H. *ɔďɔr* ⟨agyar⟩ 'fang', etc.

In initial position *p* became a spirant *f* and the *k* followed a twofold development, becoming two phonemes. It remained *k* in a position before front vowels and changed into *χ* if followed by a back vowel. This latter sound in turn changed into *h* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example: PU **pala* > H. *fɔl* ⟨fal⟩ 'devour' PU **pɛŋe* > H. *fɛj* ~ *fő* ⟨fej ~ fő⟩ 'head'; PU **kala* > H. *hɔl* ⟨hal⟩ 'fish', PFU **kuje* > H. *hāj* ⟨háj⟩ 'tallow' (but: PU **küńe* > H. *köńń* ⟨könny⟩ 'tear', PU **kiwe* > H. *kő* ⟨kő⟩ 'stone'). Although the phonetic changes followed this course as a rule, we have a few words which are exceptions either because no spirant developed in them (probably owing to dialectal reasons) or because an initial *k* became a spirant in words with a palatal order of sounds: PFU **pale* > H. *bɔl* ⟨bal⟩ 'left'; PFU **kōja* > H. *hēj* ⟨héj⟩ 'skin, shell, rind, crust, bark', etc.

Medial geminate plosives (*pp, tt, kk*) became simple: PFU **lɛppe* > H. *lɛp* ⟨lep⟩ 'to cover', PFU **sɛppɛ* > H. *ɛpɛ* ⟨epe⟩ 'gall'; PU **witte* > H. *öt* 'five', PFU **kutte* > H. *hɔt* ⟨hat⟩ 'six'; PFU **pakke-* > H. *fɔkɔd* ⟨fakad⟩ 'spring, open, burst', PFU **lükke-* H. *lök* 'push, thrust', etc.

Two PFU medial nasals (*m* and *ŋ*) have two correspondences in Hungarian. In a recent interpretation, the reason for this should be found in the fact that the sounds *m* and *ŋ* were geminate in medial position (**mm* > *m*, **m* > *v* ~ *Ø*; **ŋŋ* > *g*, **ŋ* > *v* ~ *j* ~ *Ø*): PU **emɛ* > H. *ɛmɛ* ⟨eme⟩ 'female (of pig)', PUg. **kuma* > H. *hīm* ⟨hím⟩ 'male'; but: PU **nime* > H. *nēv* ⟨név⟩ 'name'; PFU **jɛŋe* > H. *jēg* ⟨jég⟩ 'ice', PFU **śiŋere* > H. *ɛgēr* ⟨egér⟩ 'mouse'; but: PU **pɛŋe* > H. *fő* ~ *fɛj* ⟨fő ~ fej⟩ 'head', PFU **tüŋe* > H. *tő* ⟨tő⟩ *töv-* 'butt, base'.

At the beginning some of the several new sounds were phonemes with restricted distribution; thus *b, d, g,* and *z* were restricted to medial position and the *f* occurred only in initial position.

Reaching a stage of fairly balanced development, owing to repeated changes in its stock, the system of Hungarian consonants consisted, by and large, of the following sounds:

	Plosive		Spirant		Affricate		Lateral	Tremulant	Nasal
Bilabial	*p*	*b*		*w*					*m*
Labiodental			*f*						
Dental	*t*	*d*	*s*	*z*			*l*	*r*	*n*
Alveolar			*š*		*č*	*ž*			
Palatal				*j*			*ľ*		*ń*
Velar	*k*	*g*	*χ*	*γ*					[*ŋ*]

The plosives occur in pairs. Among the spirants *š* sound did not have a voiced counterpart. The sounds *f* : *w* represented an asymmetric pair. Geminate consonants must have been rare at this time.

Vowels

In contrast to the consonants, the vowels underwent most of the important changes during the period following the tenth century. Since the problem of long and reduced vowels has not yet been clarified unequivocally for the Uralic period, we shall consider here only the question of vowel quality.

The vowels which occurred during the Proto-Uralic language were inherited by the subsequent periods. In this manner Proto-Hungarian, as it issued from the Ugric community, in all probability had the following vowels:

ü *i* *ị* *u*
e *o*
ε
a

It is debated wether the *ü* and *ị* existed in Uralic or the Proto-Finno-Ugric. However, they most probably occurred in the Ugric stage, although *ü* is found mainly in onomatopoetic words.

This vowel system may have survived in first syllable position for a very long time with very slight or no changes. Nevertheless, *ü* and *ị* being the least frequent vowels, may have disappeared in some dialects by the ninth or tenth centuries. During that period some dialects may have had 6, others 7, and still others 8 vowels.

A similar degree of tenacity can be observed in connection with the rule of placing dynamic stress on the first syllable ever since the Uralic stage. In the same way, vowel harmony has survived much in the same form as it prevailed in the Uralic or in the Proto-Finno-Ugric.

The vowels of the second and third syllables, however, have undergone profound changes since the disintegration of the Ugric community. In Proto-Uralic stems ended in vowels. According to current opinion, the stem-final vowels were either of low or of mid tongue position (*a*, *ε*, *e*). In the early centuries of our era, these vowels were gradually replaced by high vowels (*u*, *i*, *ị* and *ü*). The vowels of this latter group were most probably reduced in length by the eighth or ninth century. What is more, in certain phonetic environments, primarily if preceded by *γ*, they were lost by the ninth or tenth century. Thus, Constantine Porphyrogenitus enumerating the Hungarian tribal names in the tenth century did not write a vowel after *γ* in *jεnεγ* but wrote different types of stem-ending vowels in the rest of the tribal names, in accordance with the rules of vowel harmony: *ńek*^{i}, *mežer*^{i}, *kürtü -žermot*^{u}, *tarjan*^{u}, *(jεnεγ)*, *kεr*^{i}, *kεs*^{i}. By that time these word-ending vowels were, in all likelihood, considerably reduced in length.

It is difficult to specify the point in time when the Hungarian vowels began to develop length. Suffice it to say that their occurrence must have been rather limited before the tenth century.

Consequently, the following pattern of Hungarian vowels can be reconstructed for the mid-tenth century:

Short vowels				Long vowels		Word-final reduced vowels			
ü	*i*	*ị*(?)	*u*	*ī*	*ū*	*ü*	*i*	*ị*	*u*
	e		*o*	*ē*(?)					
	ε			*ε̄*					
		a			*ā*				

THE EVOLUTION OF HUNGARIAN SOUNDS FROM THE TENTH CENTURY ON

From the time of the first written records of the Hungarian language, an ever-increasing amount of data is available to linguists wishing to reconstruct the various stages of the history of Hungarian phonemes. Nevertheless, the records written before the sixteenth century are less reliable in regard to vowel quality because the orthographies used did not fit the Hungarian phonemes. Comparatively few linguistic records were written in Arabic characters, but these were the earliest and therefore the most valuable ones. However, the Arabic script leaves open many possibilities of interpreting the vowels of a word. Hungarian linguistic records written in Greek are not numerous, either, if compared with the vast amount of those in Latin. The Latin alphabet included characters not needed for Hungarian, while it had no symbols which were needed to represent certain Hungarian sounds. Therefore the Hungarian phonemes were represented deficiently and ambiguously. For example, the Latin alphabet had no symbols for *ü* and *ị*, it could not make a distinction between *e* and *ε*, let alone their length. In subsequent times, further difficulties arose, when the labial *a* (*ɔ*) and

ö sounds were introduced. The orthographical practice did not follow a uniform pattern in the use of digraphs and diacritics; uncertainties are seen in the notation of the phonetic value of the individual sounds. For a long time the representation of the palatal consonants *ť*, *ď*, *ń*, *ľ* (now written *ty*, *gy*, *ny*, *ly*) also presented a problem because the Latin alphabet provided no special symbols for them.

The unstable character of the orthography of linguistic records during the first centuries was due to the fact that it took a relatively long time for a given sound to be associated with a given graph or digraph. In addition the history of Hungarian up to the sixteenth century was essentially identical with the history of its dialects. Since Hungarian dialects differ from one another primarily in their phonetic aspects, the slowly developing spelling norms could not but reflect the actually existing dialectal differences more or less consistently.

All this does not mean, of course, that no efforts were made to standardize the orthography even as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Consonants

1. The number of consonants continued to increase after the tenth century. The existence of voiced stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) a voiced affricate (*ǯ*), and a sibilant (*ẓ*) brought about the possibility of voice assimilation. This phenomenon is known to be common in many languages. Voice assimilation is the transfer of voice or voicelessness from a given consonant to an adjacent consonant.

In Hungarian the direction of assimilation is as a rule regressive inasmuch as the second of a series of two consonants tends to cause the first one to assimilate to it. Only those consonants can assimilate, or be assimilated, which participate in the voice correlation (*b* : *p*, *d* : *t*, *g* : *k*, *z* : *s*, *ǯ* : *č*, etc.).

No assimilation of this kind occurred as long as the root-ending vowels existed, because in their presence the suffixes beginning with consonants were added to a stem ending in a vowel. But as shown above (p. 50), the root-final vowels began to be lost as early as the ninth century, though the process was not fully completed before the thirteenth century (see pp. 60—61). This was also the period when medial short vowels in unstressed position disappeared (see p. 65). (This phenomenon was seen to be highly productive at a much later date.) Owing to the changes described, suffixes beginning with a consonant were frequently joined to stems which ended in consonants. This type of contact resulted in a number of further developments of voiced and unvoiced consonants. The law of regressive voice assimilation according to voice correlation began to assert itself increasingly, e.g. **utubɛlē* > *ūtbɛlē* > *ūdbɛle* (today written: *útba*, pronounced: *ūdbɔ*) 'onto the road'; **vagutukᵘ* > *vāgtok* > *vāktok* (today written: *vágtok*, pronounced: *vāktok*) 'you (pl.) cut'.

As has been shown above, of the spirants in the tenth-century Hungarian consonant system *š* was the only one that did not have a voiced counterpart. However, since *š* represented one of the most frequent word-final sounds in

Hungarian, it was assimilated to *ž* when followed by a voiced suffix as soon as root-final vowels had been lost. First it occurred as an allophone of *š* preceding a morpheme which began with a voiced consonant. As long as the form was pronounced **wošu bɛleül* 'of iron' (with a stem-final u) there was no need for the introduction of a *ž* but when the pronunciation was modified to **woš bɛleül*, the final consonant of the first word was likely uttered *ž*. The earliest Slavonic loanwords — borrowed prior to the loss of root-final vowels — were fitted into Hungarian with the substitution of *š* for *ž* (cf. Slav. *kniężа* > H. *kɛnɛšɛ* ⟨Kenese⟩ 'name of a village'). As soon as *ž* began to exist as an allophone, the possibility of its becoming an independent phoneme arose. This tendency was supported by Slavonic loanwords and loanwords of other origin. Today it exists mainly in loans and in onomatopoetic words. For example, words of Slavonic origin: *žīr* ⟨zsír⟩ 'fat', *židō* ⟨zsidó⟩ 'Jew, Jewish', *rožda* ⟨rozsda⟩ 'rust', of German origin: *žinōr* ⟨zsinór⟩ 'string', *žindej* ⟨zsindely⟩ 'shingle', of Latin origin: *užora* ⟨uzsora⟩ 'usury', *žužannа* ⟨Zsuzsanna⟩ 'Susan'. Onomatopoetic words are: *žibonŋ* ⟨zsibong⟩ 'buzz', *žonŋ* ⟨zsong⟩ 'hum', etc. The phoneme *ž* is rare.

The increase of the number of affricates was due to the loss of word-final vowels as well as to the loss of certain medial vowels. The consonant cluster *ts* and *ds* could be easily transformed to a *c* affricate. As soon as *mɛtüsüm* 'I cut' was shortened to *mɛtsüm*, it may have been pronounced as *mɛccüm*. Verbs frequently ended in *-t* and *-d* after the root-ending vowels were lost. In such words, the Ps 2 present tense is *-s* as in: *vɛt-s* ⟨vetsz⟩, *ɔd-s* ⟨adsz⟩, *ɔrɔt-s* ⟨aratsz⟩, *fārɔd-s* ⟨fáradsz⟩ ('sow, give, reap, tire'). The assimilation of *ts* ~ *ds* > *cc* may thus have been frequent enough to afford a sufficient basis for the development of the *c* phoneme. Before the word-final vowels and unstressed short vowels in medial position were lost, the Slavonic words containing *c* had been borrowed with *č* (initial) or *t* (final), e.g. Slav. *ceri* ~ *ceru* > H. *čɛr* ⟨cser⟩ 'Turkey oak', Slav. *cesari* > H. *čāsār* ⟨császár⟩ 'emperor', Slav. *nemici* > H. *nēmet* ⟨német⟩ 'German'. The development of the new affricate into an independent phoneme was powerfully aided by a number of loanwords of Slavonic: *cēklɔ* ⟨cékla⟩ 'beetroot', *bērc* ⟨bérc⟩ 'crag, pead'; Latin: *cēdruš* ⟨cédrus⟩ 'cedar', *cellɔ* ⟨cella⟩ 'cell'; Italian: *piɔc* ⟨piac⟩ 'market'; German: *cēl* ⟨cél⟩ 'goal', *cēgēr* ⟨cégér⟩ 'signboard'. It is a phoneme of rare occurrence even today, mainly found in loanwords, although it is also found in native roots such as *cicɔ* ⟨cica⟩ 'pussycat', *cincog* 'squeak', *cirōgɔt* ⟨cirógat⟩ 'fondle, pet, caress'.

The affricates continued to be rearranged. In some of the dialects *ǯ* may have developed into *ď* as early as the eleventh or twelfth century; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the process must have extended to cover, in all likelihood, the overwhelming part of the language area, while *ǯ* was restricted to certain isolated regions where it continued to survive. A more precise delimination of the period of this change (for example: *ǯalog* > *ďɔlog* 'by foot', now written: *gyalog*) is impossible, because the spelling of the period fails to indicate the exact quality of this consonant.

Parallel with the phonetic change *ǯ* > *ď*, and not earlier than the thirteenth century, a new phoneme, namely *ť* evolved from *tj* and from the palatalization of *t*: *látjuk* (pronounced *lāťťuk*) 'we see', *ďerťān* ⟨gyertyán⟩ 'hornbeam

tree'. The development of *ď* and *ť* followed parallel courses, although independent of each other; yet they are systematically connected as in *hɔď* ⟨hagy⟩ 'he lets, allows', *hɔťtɔm* ⟨hagytam⟩ 'I let/allowed it'.

Following the phonetic change *ǯ* > *ď*, the phoneme *č* had no voiced correlate. Neither did *c* when it developed in the eleventh century. The *ʒ* and *ǯ* phonemes potentially existed ever since words began to end in *c* and *č*, that is from the eleventh or twelfth century, for they could exist as allophones for *c* and *č*: *lānʒbōl* ⟨láncból⟩ 'from a chain' *kilɛnʒbɛ* ⟨kilencbe⟩ 'into nine', *ďolǯbōl* ⟨gyolcsból⟩ 'from linen', *ďümölǯbɛn* ⟨gyümölcsben⟩ 'in the fruit'. None of the new affricates tend to occur in final position. The *ʒ* phoneme came to exist through the affrication of *z* in medial position, too: *bozɔ* > *bozzɔ* > *boʒʒɔ* ⟨bodza⟩ 'elder', *mɔzzɔg* > *mɔʒʒɔg* ⟨madzag⟩ 'string', *vɔkɔrōzik* > *vɔkɔrōʒʒik* ⟨vakarózik⟩ 'scratch' (see p. 57). In this position it is invariably pronounced as a geminate. The phoneme *ǯ* gained wider currency owing to loanwords of Turkish and English origin or mediation: *finǯɔ* ⟨findzsa⟩ 'cup', *ǯem* ⟨dzsem⟩ 'jam', *ǯuŋgel* ⟨dzsungel⟩ 'jungle'. Of all Hungarian phonemes, *ǯ* is the rarest, its rate of frequency being less than 0·001 per cent.

2. From the tenth century on the system of Hungarian consonants has not only been continually increasing, but the place of articulation of some of them has also been shifted. For example, the originally bilabial *w* became a labiodental *v* in the western dialects around the thirteenth century: **wāšār* > *vāšār* ⟨vásár⟩ 'market', **köwɛk* > *kövɛk* ⟨kövek⟩ 'stones'. The phonetic change gradually proceeded towards the east and has not been completed as yet, for in some dialects *w* still occurs. In this manner the so far asymmetrical unvoiced–voiced correlation of *f* (labiodental) and *w* (bilabial) has changed into a regular one (*f* : *v*). This process was helped by the appearance of the *f* phoneme in middle and final position in words. At the beginning *f* used to be a phoneme of restricted scope originating from an initial *p* > *f* change. It was used for a long time in initial position exclusively. In medial and final position *f* was replaced by *p* in loanwords of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example *Luciper* 'Lucifer' and *hopmɛšter* ⟨hopmester⟩ 'marshal' were of Latin and German origin. From the sixteenth century onward *f* survived in medial and final position in loanwords: *kɛfɛ* ⟨kefe⟩ 'brush' (Turkish), *trēfɔ* ⟨tréfa⟩ 'joke' (Italian), *kufār* ⟨kufár⟩ 'salesman', *rōf* ⟨rőf⟩ 'ell' (German), *konfirmāl* ⟨konfirmál⟩ 'to participate in the religious rite of confirmation' (Latin). Compounds such as *hētfō* ⟨hétfő⟩ 'Monday (week-head)' have also been instrumental in increasing the number of medial *f*, as have onomatopoetic words: *cāfol* ⟨cáfol⟩ 'refute', *röfög* 'grunt'.

The place of articulation of the velar *χ* fricative was also shifted and emerges as laryngal (glottal) *h*. The process took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: *χarmᵘ* > *hārom* ⟨három⟩ 'three', *χodᵘ* > *hɔd* ⟨had⟩ 'army', *ruχa* > *ruhɔ* ⟨ruha⟩ 'dress', *muχᵘ* > *moh* 'moss'. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most final *h*-s were no longer pronounced but continued to be written: *méh* (pronounced [*mē*]) 'bee', *düh* (pronounced [*dü*]) 'rage', *cseh* (pronounced) [*čɛ*] 'Czech'.

An *χ́* sound also occurred in medial and in final position. It would be hard to decide now whether it was a phoneme or an allophone of *j* or possibly of *χ*. It changed into *j* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but earlier spelling did not distinguish it. In medial position it most often preceded *t*: *roχ́toŋk* > *rojtuŋk* ⟨rajtunk⟩ 'on us', *šleχ́t* > *šɛlɛjt* ⟨selejt⟩ 'rejects'. This sound has survived as an allophone of *j* in final position, preceded by an unvoiced consonant or *r*: *rakj!* (pronounced [*rokχ́*]) 'put on!', *varrj!* (pronounced [*vorχ́*]) 'sew!' and in some foreign words, such as *technika* (pronounced [*teχ́nikɔ*]) 'technology'.

3. The consonant phoneme *γ* did not occur as an initial sound in the tenth century, though it was rather frequent in medial position. This sound completely disappeared in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, so as hardly to leave any trace in the dialects. It was dropped from between two vocalic sounds in which case the two short vowels were joined to from a long one: *baγatur* > *bātor* ⟨bátor⟩ 'courageous', *šiγir* > *šīr* ⟨sír⟩ 'grave', or else the hiatus was filled by *j*: *ajtaγā* > *ajtaa* > *ɔjtɔjɔ* ⟨ajtaja⟩ 'his door', *mɛzɛγē* > *mɛzɛē* > *mɛzɛjɛ* ⟨mezeje⟩ 'his field'.

Similarly, the phoneme *l'* (written *ly*) has disappeared, that is, merged with another phoneme. It is still noted in Hungarian spelling, although in common usage it has been pronounced *j* ever since the middle of the nineteenth century. The phoneme *l'* has survived in some of the dialects but even there it is increasingly replaced by its rival.

4. The phonetic changes which took place during the course of a thousand years not only reshaped the consonantal system but also modified the ratio of the existing sounds. Only the most important of several changes will be treated here.

The phoneme *w* was vocalized in syllable-final position. In this manner, it formed a diphthong together with the vowel that preceded it which was subsequently monophthongized: *kiwi* > *kiü* > *keü* > *köü* > *kō̈* ⟨kő⟩ 'stone', *postaw* > *postau* > *postou* > *postō* ⟨posztó⟩ 'cloth', *lawca* > *lauca* > *louca* > *lōcɔ* ⟨lóca⟩ 'bench'. The vocalization of *γ* was analogous (see p. 66).

Palatalization represented one of the most significant qualitative changes in the development of the consonants. Far from being a universal rule, the sound *l* was replaced in many cases by *l'* primarily in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Slav. *nosilo* > H. *ńosojɔ* ⟨nyoszolya⟩ (pronounced until the nineteenth century *ńosol'ɔ*) 'bed', German *Schamel* > H. *žāmoj* ⟨zsámoly⟩ (pronounced earlier *žāmol'*) 'tabouret', German *Kelch* > H. *kɛhɛj* (pronounced earlier *kɛhɛl'*). The *l'* sound was more general in the eastern parts of the language area and the phonetic change *l'* > *j* also started in the eastern regions in the sixteenth century. This latter process entered the common language where it was fully concluded during the nineteenth century. (Hovewer the digraph *ly* survived in the spelling.)

In contrast, the western dialects have preserved the original *l*, depalatalizing at the same time the original *l'*: *koŋkol'* > *koŋkol* 'darnel', *mol'* > *mol* 'moth'. The *l* began to depalatalize in the sixteenth century.

From the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, in certain regions of the language area, *ľ* and *l* showed a paradigmatical alternation: *žindeľ* 'shingle', *žindeľen* 'on the shingle', but *žindelt* 'shingle (acc.)'.

The palatalization of *l* similar and contemporaneous with the palatalization of *n* in word-final and in prevocalic position: *aχsin* > *ɔssoń* ⟨asszony⟩ 'woman', *šārkān* > *šārkāń* ⟨sárkány⟩ 'dragon', *ɛnēm* > *ɛńēm* ⟨enyém⟩ 'mine'. At one time a paradigmatic alternation of *n* ~ *ń* was predominant in a considerable part of the language area, much like the alternation *l* ~ *ľ*: *ɔssoń* 'woman', *ɔssońok* 'women', but *ɔssont* 'woman (acc.)'. This alternation can still be observed in certain dialect regions. In the northern dialect area a comparatively recent palatalization of *l, n, t, d* is characteristic before *i* and sometimes before *ī, ü, ū*: *ťūkör* ⟨tükör⟩ 'mirror' *sɛreťi* ⟨szereti⟩ 'he likes it', *aľig* ⟨alig⟩ 'hardly', *kɛńi* ⟨keni⟩ 'he smears it', etc.

An important change was the development of some spirants and nasals into affricates. Although never assuming overall validity, this change has still affected a great number of words, so that the scope of the affricates was powerfully augmented and, notably enough, a new affricate was also produced (*ʒ*, see p. 55). This process can be documented sporadically from the tenth century on, but affricates began to increase in number from the fifteenth century on. In addition to the change *z* > *ʒ* mentioned above, the *s* > *c* development belongs here also: *simborɔ* > *cimborɔ* ⟨cimbora⟩ 'fellow', *bɔrɔsk* > *bɔrɔck* ⟨barack⟩ 'apricot, peach', *koskɔ* > *kockɔ* ⟨kocka⟩ 'cube, die'; *š* > *č*: *paradišum* > *pɔrɔdičom* ⟨paradicsom⟩ 'paradise, tomato', *lēpšō* > *lēpčō* ⟨lépcső⟩ 'stair', *ń* > *ď*; *menek* > *meńek* > *meďek* ⟨megyek⟩ 'I go'; *j* > *ď*: *jɛr* > *ďɛrɛ* ⟨gyere⟩ 'come on!', *jōgīt* > *ďōďīt* ⟨gyógyít⟩ 'cure'. The change of *j* > *ď* after voiced consonants is quite regular in the western dialects, although it has not affected the literary usage.

Certain consonants become or tend to become voiced: *kužoľ* > *gužɔj* ⟨guzsaly⟩ 'distaff', *kāčēr* > *gāčēr* ⟨gácsér⟩ 'drake', *kɔzdɔg* > *gɔzdɔg* ⟨gazdag⟩ 'rich', Slav. *griki* > H. *görög* 'Greek'; *töršöl* > *dōržōl* ⟨dörzsöl⟩ 'rub'; *sɔj* > *zɔj* ⟨zaj⟩ 'noise', *sɔrāndok* > *zɔrāndok* ⟨zarándok⟩ 'pilgrim', *hēsɔk* > *hēzɔg* ⟨hézag⟩ 'gap', *lānčɔ* > *lānʒɔ* ⟨lándzsa⟩ 'lance'. This is a rather frequent occurrence but cannot be explained.

Besides the above-mentioned cases of voice assimilation there are other instances of consonant assimilation. Such is, for example, assimilation according to the place of articulation. Such a change took place in *mt* > *nt*, *mč* > *nč*, *mk* > *ŋk*, *mg* > *ŋg* from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries: *sāmtō* > *sāntō* ⟨szántó⟩ 'plowman', *romt* > *ront*, *roŋgāl* ⟨rongál⟩ 'spoil', *šemki* > *šeŋki* ⟨senki⟩ 'nobody'.

In the same period by and large, the assimilation process of post-sibilant *j* was completed (*šj* > *šš*, *sj* > *ss*, *zj* > *zz*): *hosjū* > *hossū* ⟨hosszú⟩ 'long', *buzja* > *bozza* > *bɔʒʒɔ* ⟨bodza⟩ 'elder'. This phenomenon has been of major morphological significance since the *j* sound of the imperative mood always merges into the spirant preceding it: *vēšjünk* > *vēššünk* ⟨véssünk⟩ 'let us cut', *hɔlāsjon* > *hɔlāsson* ⟨halásszon⟩ 'let him fish!', *nēzjük* > *nēzzük* ⟨nézzük⟩ 'let us see it!'. A *dl* > *ll* assimilation has been general: *hadl* > *hɔll* ⟨hall⟩ 'hear', *vidlo* > *villɔ* ⟨villa⟩ 'fork'. A *dn* > *nn* assimilation has been sporadical: *vɔďnɔk* > *vɔnnɔk* ⟨vannak⟩ 'they are'. In the majority of

dialects, the *v* sound of the instrumental suffix *-vol* ~ *-vɛl* has assimilated to the consonants preceding it: *kēšvɛl* > *kēššɛl* ⟨késsel⟩ 'with the knife', *hātval* > *hāttɔl* ⟨háttal⟩ 'with one's back'. This development has also been characteristic of literary language. (This explanation is, however, uncertain because it cannot be certainly testified whether the *v* of the suffix is original or not.)

Similarly, dissimilation is a frequent occurrence, affecting as a rule the first of two geminated consonants, e.g. *hāšš* > *hārš* ⟨hárs⟩ 'linden-tree', *šɔccol* > *šɔrcol* ⟨sarcol⟩ 'hold for ransom', *mɛlɛggɛt* > *mɛlɛŋgɛt* ⟨melenget⟩ 'keep warm'. Another instance of dissimilation is represented by *č—š* > *č—s* as in *čɛrešńɛ* > *čɛresńɛ* ⟨cseresznye⟩ 'cherry', Turkish *čäüš* > Hu. *čŏs* ⟨csősz⟩ 'parkkeeper, fieldguard'.

Metathesis is quite regular in *h* + consonant sequences: *kuhńa* > *końhɔ* ⟨konyha⟩ 'kitchen', *kāhľo* > *kājhɔ* ⟨kályha⟩ 'stove'. It also occurs sporadically in other sequences: *kɔrɔńō* > *kɔńɔrō* ⟨kanyaró⟩ 'measles', German *Kelch* > H. *kɛhɛj* ⟨kehely⟩ 'chalice'. A synchronic alternation in the shape of the root has also developed in a certain type of noun, e.g. *kɛhɛj* ⟨kehely⟩ ~ *kɛjhɛt* ⟨kelyhet⟩ acc., *pɛhɛj* ⟨pehely⟩ ~ *pɛjhɛt* ⟨pelyhet⟩ acc. 'down, fluff', *tɛhɛr* ⟨teher⟩ ~ *tɛrhɛt* ⟨terhet⟩ acc. 'burden'.

5. Besides qualitative changes quantitative changes (loss of sound, filling of hiatus, gemination) are also significant in the evolution of the consonants. The loss of intervocalic *γ* took place in the entire language area (see p. 56). In some words initial *w* preceding *i* has also been lost, e.g. *wimād* > *imād* ⟨imád⟩ 'he prays'.

Medial post-consonantal *w* has also disappeared: *ɛlwedīt* > *ɛlɛďīt* ⟨elegyít⟩ 'he mixes', *pitwor* > *pitar* (dialectal) 'kitchen'. This phenomenon frequently occurs in connection with the dissolution of initial consonant clusters (see p. 60).

In certain words change of *jo, ju, ja* to *i* is regular in initial position: *jorg-* > *irgɔlmɔz* ⟨irgalmaz⟩ 'he is merciful', *joŋkābb* > *iŋkābb* ⟨inkább⟩ 'more', *joχtot* > *iktɔt* ⟨iktat⟩ 'he registers', *juhar* > *ihɔr* ⟨ihar⟩ 'maple-tree'. Syllable-final *l* is often dropped in certain dialects and in slovenly usage. In some words it is omitted throughout the entire language area, as in *volt* > *vōt* 'it was', *fōld* > *fŏd* 'earth' but has been almost universally restored in the literary usage which sanctioned the form without *l* in only a few words such as *čolnɔk* > *čōnɔk* ⟨csónak⟩ 'canoe'. Strangely enough, the hyperurban literary norm also introduced *l* in some words in which it had never occurred, e.g. *houd* > *hōd* > *hold* 'moon', *boudug* > *bōdog* > *boldog* 'happy'. In some instances denasalization took place: *šumha* > *šohɔ* ⟨soha⟩ 'never', *ürdüŋg* > *ördög* 'devil'.

Where the loss of an intervocalic consonant resulted in hiatus, the gap was usually filled with *j* (*w* > *v*, *h*): *fɛγē* > *fɛē* > *fɛjɛ* ⟨feje⟩ 'his head', *füɛńeš* > *fövɛńeš* ⟨fövenyes⟩ dial. *föheńeš* 'sandy'. Even today, in standard usage, a *j* often occurs intervocalically (although it is never written): *fiaim* (pron. *fijɔjim*) 'my sons', *kávéért* (pron. *kāvējērt*) 'for coffee'.

The gemination of some intervocalic consonants started in the fifteenth and ended in the seventeenth century. After these geminates were established

in medial position, they were projected to final position. Such is, for instance, the postvocalic change in the comparative suffix *b* > *bb*. This change was completed in three different phases: *nɔďob* ~ *nɔďobɔt* > *nɔďob* ~ *nɔďobbɔt* > *nɔďobb* ~ *nɔďobbɔt* ⟨nagyobb ~ nagyobbat⟩ 'bigger ~ bigger (acc)'. The *t* suffix of the past tense was geminated much in the same way: *vitɛm, vitēl, vit* > *vittɛm, vittēl, vitt* 'I, you, he carried'. A similar development may be assumed for the *tt* locative suffix of some postpositions and other words: *mɛllɛtɛm* ~ *mɛllɛt* > *mɛllɛttɛm* ~ *mɛllɛt* > *mɛllɛttɛm* ~ *mɛllɛtt* ⟨mellettem ~ mellett⟩ 'beside me, beside'. At the same time intervocalic consonants began to be geminated in the instantaneous type of onomatopoetical verbs: *kopɔn* > *koppɔn* ⟨koppan⟩ 'it claps' (but *kopog* 'he knocks'), *čörɛn* > *čörrɛn* ⟨csörren⟩, (but *čörög*) 'it clangs', *poťɔn* > *poťťɔn* ⟨pottyan⟩ (but *poťog*) 'it plops' (although in numerous onomatopoetical words the geminate consonant can also be a primary development). Further sporadic instances are: *ɛlɛn* > *ɛllɛn* ⟨ellen⟩ 'against', *holō* > *hollō* ⟨holló⟩ 'raven', *sɔpon* > *sɔppɔn* ⟨szappan⟩ 'soap', *rosul* ~ *ros* > *rossul* ~ *ros* > *rossul* ~ *ross* ⟨rosszul ~ rossz⟩ 'badly, bad'.

6. In Proto Finno-Ugric and in Proto-Hungarian words had no initial consonant clusters. During its separate evolution, however, Hungarian has come in contact with a number of Indo-European languages in which clusters such as *pr, tr, pl, st*, etc. are common. Prior to the eighteenth century in particular, the Hungarian language had the tendency to resolve in one way or another the consonant clusters of initial position in the words borrowed from Slavonic, Latin or German, largely according to the following patterns:

(a) $C_1 + C_2 > C_1 + V + C_2$
(b) $C_1 + C_2 > V + C_1 + C_2$
(c) $C_1 + C_2 > C_1$
(d) $C_1 + C_2 > C_2$
(e) $C_1 + C_2 > V + C_2$
(f) $C_1 + C_2 + C_3 > C_1 + V + C_3$ or $V + C_1 + C_3$ or $C_1 + V + C_2 + C_3$

(a) If the consonant cluster in the original language had a liquid as second component ($C_2 = l \sim r$), then a short vowel was as a rule inserted between the two consonants, usually one agreeing in quality with the vowel following the cluster: Latin *planta* > H. *pɔlāntɔ* ⟨palánta⟩ 'seedling', Slavonic *bratu* > H. *bɔrāt* ⟨barát⟩ 'friend', Slavonic *kristi* > H. *kerest* ⟨kereszt⟩ 'cross', Slavonic *gloginja* > H. *gɔlɔgońɔ* ⟨galagonya⟩ 'hawthorn'. A few loanwords of more recent borrowing have preserved the original cluster: German (dial.) *grōf* > H. *grōf* ⟨gróf⟩ 'count', German *Plafon* > H. *plɔfon* ⟨plafon⟩ 'ceiling'. They occur in onomatopoetical words as well: *brɛkeg* 'croak', *fröčköl* ⟨fröcsköl⟩ 'splash'. Under the impact of the vowel inserted between the two consonants the short vowel of the next syllable may be dropped (see p. 65): Slavonic *sluga* > H. *suluga* > *solgɔ* ⟨szolga⟩ 'servant', Slavonic *sliva* > H. *siliva* > *silvɔ* ⟨szilva⟩ 'plum'. A vowel insert may occur in other inter-consonantal positions as well: German *Zweck* > H. *cövek* 'peg'.

(b) If the first constituent of the cluster in the original language is *š* or *s* ($C_1 = š \sim s$), then a vowel is put before it which is either identical with the next one in the word or else is *i*: Latin *schola* > H. *iškolɔ* ~ *oškolɔ* (dial.) ⟨iskola⟩ 'school', Slavonic *stolu* > H. *ɔstɔl* ⟨asztal⟩ 'table', German *Stab* > H. *ištāpol* ⟨istápol⟩ 'to support'. More recently it is preserved as in *šport* ⟨sport⟩ 'sport' (< German < English), or *štrɔnd* ⟨strand⟩ 'beach' (< German).

(c) If the second constituent of the cluster in the original language is *v* (or *w*, i.e. $C_2 = v \sim w$), then it is usually dropped: German (dial.) *Zwern* > H. *cērnɔ* ⟨cérna⟩ 'yarn', Slav. *cvekla* > H. *cēklɔ* ⟨cékla⟩ 'red beet', Slav. *svobodu* > *sɔbɔd* ⟨szabad⟩ 'free'. In more recent borrowings it has been preserved: Lat. *quantitas* > H. *kvɔntitāš* ⟨kvantitás⟩ 'quantity', Germ. *Schwabe* > H. *švāb* ⟨sváb⟩ 'Swabian', etc. In the same position *t* may occasionally be dropped: Slav. *stuba* > H. *sobɔ* ⟨szoba⟩ 'room'.

(d) Sometimes the first consonant is omitted, mainly in dialects (C_1C_2 > C_2): Slav. (dial.) *stoklas* > H. *toklās* ⟨toklász⟩ 'chaff', Germ. (dial.) *sporherd* > H. (dial.) *porhelt* 'cooking-range'. Slav. *šč-* > H. *č* is regular: Slav. *ščuka* > H. *čukɔ* ⟨csuka⟩ 'pike (fish)', Slav. *ščirba* > H. *čorbɔ* ⟨csorba⟩ 'nicked, chipped'.

(e) Equally rare is the vocalization of preconsonantal initial *v* ($C_1 = v$): Slav. *vlasi* > H. *olɔs* ⟨olasz⟩ 'Italian', or Slav. *vnuka* > H. *vunuka* > *unokɔ* 'grandchild'.

(f) If the word begins with a consonant cluster of three members, several solutions are possible: Old French *scrīn* > H. *sekrēń* ⟨szekrény⟩ 'wardrobe, cupboard', Slav. *svraka* > H. *sɔrkɔ* ⟨szarka⟩ 'magpie', Germ. *Strang* > H. *ištrāŋg* ⟨istráng⟩ 'traces'.

Consonant clusters of this type have come into existence in suffixed forms or in compound words after losing their root-ending or medial short vowels, most frequently in the following manner: (a) the consonant is dropped from the middle: *ajānldēk* > *ɔjāndēk* ⟨ajándék⟩ 'gift', cf. *ɔjānl* ⟨ajánl⟩ 'he offers'; *tɛkintgɛt* > *tɛkiŋgɛt* ⟨tekinget⟩ 'he looks around', cf. *tɛkint* 'he looks'; (b) if the third consonant is *v (w)*, it may also be omitted: *ɛštvɛ* > *ɛštɛ* ⟨este⟩ 'evening'; (c) mostly, however, an *o* or an *e* is inserted between the first two consonants. The form thus obtained may intrude into the nominative as well: *χarmu* ~ *χarmunek* > *hārm* ~ *hārmnak* > *hārm* ~ *hāromnak* > *hārom* ~ *hāromnɔk* ⟨három ~ háromnak⟩ 'three, for three'. Similarly: *χolmu* > *hɔlom* ⟨halom⟩ 'hill', *sɛrɛlmü* > *sɛrɛlem* ⟨szerelem⟩ 'love'.

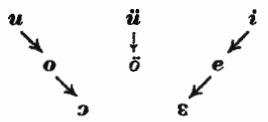
Vowels

1. Final reduced vowels continued to be lost following the tenth century. The process ended by the end of the thirteenth century at the latest. Most of these vowels had disappeared as early as the tenth century in the major part of the language area when they followed *j* or *γ* (see pp. 52, 53). In the eleventh century they rarely occurred after nasals. They were lost when they followed consonant clusters, e.g. *χarmu* 'three', *χolmu* 'hill'. Longer words tended to lose them sooner than short words. The final loss of *-u*, *-ü*

was preceded by strong labialization. In the tenth century, final reduced *i*, *u*, *ü* (and perhaps *ị*) occurred with rather equal frequency; in the eleventh century we have *u* and *ü* in an overwhelming proportion, and in the twelfth *i* occurs here and there, although very sporadically.

When these vanished, the reduced vowels had fully disappeared from the system of vowels. The loss of these vowels and the concomitant lengthening of short vowels in stressed position greatly increased the rate of frequency of long vowels. The system of long vowels was far from being complete in the tenth century. There was no *ī*, *ō* or *ū*, but diphthongs such as *a͡i*, *e͡i*, *iü͡* and *a͡u* freely occurred. Gradually the long and the short vowels developed into a symmetrical system. Interestingly enough, a by no means negligible part of consonantal changes (e.g. the vocalization or disappearance of *γ*, or the *ǯ* > *ď*, *w* > *v* and *χ* > *h* changes) were regular, covering the whole or at least a major part of the language area. In the field of vowel changes there are barely one or two that extended to the entire language area. Such complete changes are the loss of root-ending vowels and the loss of *ị* sound.

2. Changes in vowel quality usually affect several vowels but not at the same time and not to the same degree. One of the most important of these changes was the lowering of vowels. This phonetic change consisted in the high and mid short vowels being lowered by one degree. This process influenced a considerable number of vowels, causing a downward shift and giving rise to two new phonemes, *ō* and *ɔ:*



A phonetic change *u* > *o* took place in all phonetic situations: *fuk* > *fok* 'cape, degree', *šum* > *šom* ⟨som⟩ 'cornel', *χumuk* > *homok* 'sand', *urus* > *oros* ⟨orosz⟩ 'Russian', *šou͡ľum* > *šōľom* ⟨sólyom⟩ 'falcon', etc. The change started as early as the eleventh century. Nevertheless *u* has survived in a number of words: *tud* 'he knows', *čukɔ* ⟨csuka⟩ 'pike (fish)'.

The change *a* > *ɔ* took place by and large in the same period: *χodu* > *hɔd* ⟨had⟩ 'army', *potok* > *pɔtɔk* ⟨patak⟩ 'creek', *moguš* > *mogoš* > *mɔgɔš* ⟨magas⟩ 'high, tall', *voj* > *vɔj* ⟨vaj⟩ 'butter', *vod* > *vɔd* ⟨vagy⟩ 'you are (sing.)'. The spelling of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still contains forms with *o*, which, however, were read *ɔ* in all probability. Many words have preserved original *o: fojō* ⟨folyó⟩ 'river', *fordul* 'he turns'.

The *ü* was lowered by one degree to *ö: küzü* > *köz* 'intermediate place', *tülǯü* > *töld* ⟨tölgy⟩ 'oak', *ürdüŋg* > *ördög* 'devil', *ǯüŋǯü* > *döńd* ⟨gyöngy⟩ 'pearl', *ǯümülč* > *ďümölč* ⟨gyümölcs⟩ 'fruit'. This change was fairly late (mainly from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries). Not all instances of *ü* changed to *ö; ü* survived in such words as *ül* 'he is sitting', *ďümölč* ⟨gyümölcs⟩ 'fruit', *büdöš* ⟨büdös⟩ 'stinking', *dühöš* ⟨dühös⟩ 'furious'.

In many instances *i* has developed into *e*: *sim* > *sem* ⟨szem⟩ 'eye', *hiǯ* > *heď* ⟨hegy⟩ 'mountain', *iǯ* > *eď* ⟨egy⟩ 'one', *kɛndir* > *kɛnder* ⟨kender⟩ 'hemp', *kirist* > *kerest* ⟨kereszt⟩ 'cross'.

A great number of words have preserved the original *i*: *hisek* ⟨hiszek⟩ 'I believe', *ki* 'who', *kiš* ~ *kiči* ⟨ kis ~ kicsi⟩ 'small, little'. The change took place at about the same time as *u* > *o* and *o* > *a*.

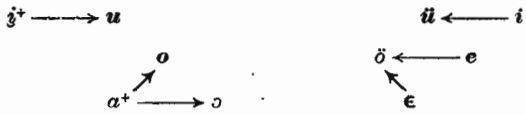
There was a change *e* > *ɛ* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which influenced mainly the word-final vowels: *kɛzē* > *kɛze* > *kɛzɛ* ⟨keze⟩ 'his hand', *idē* > *ide* > *idɛ* ⟨ide⟩ 'hither' *kērne* > *kērnɛ* ⟨kérne⟩ 'he would ask'. Medial *e* had not yet opened at that time. Monosyllabic words had also retained the *e*: *-e* 'if', *le* 'under', *ne* 'do not', *še* ⟨se⟩ 'neither', *te* 'you (sing.)'. Independently of this process, a more recent *e* > *ɛ* development has set in which is gaining more and more acceptance, though in fact it is due mostly to the impact of schools, radio, etc. (see pp. 67—8).

The effect of the opening process is also variable according to dialects. The number of open vowels can be higher in certain dialects and lower in others, e.g. dial. *ožonnɔ* ~ lit. *užonnɔ* ⟨uzsonna⟩ 'snack', dial. *onokɔ* ~ lit. *unokɔ* ⟨unoka⟩ 'grandchild', dial. *ďükɛr* ~ lit. *ďökēr* ⟨gyökér⟩ 'root', dial. *uštor* ~ lit. *oštor* ⟨ostor⟩ 'whip'. What is more, even the literary usage is prone to a certain degree of vacillation in this respect, e.g. *čodɔ* ⟨csoda⟩ ~ *čudɔ* ⟨csuda⟩ 'wonder', *törülköző* ~ *törölköző* 'towel'.

Sporadically a process in the reverse may take place, that is the changes *o* > *u*, *e* > *i* may also occur, for example: *Leürenc* > *Lőrinc* ⟨Lőrinc⟩ 'Lawrence', *Eľāš* > *Illēš* ⟨Illés⟩ 'Elias', Slav. *kolemaz* > Hu. *kulimās* ⟨kulimász⟩ 'cart-grease'. On the dialectal level a development of the *ö* > *ü* or *ɛ* > *e* type is also met.

The most significant change in the development of the vowels took place in relation not to the short but to the long vowels. This type of change began to emerge in the sixteenth century and gradually spread over extensive parts of the language area: *jēg* > *jēg* ⟨jég⟩ 'ice', *ēn* > *ēn* ⟨én⟩ 'I', *sēl* > *sēl* ⟨szél⟩ 'wind', *tɛhēn* > *tɛhēn* ⟨tehén⟩ 'cow' (see p. 67).

3. Another powerful process is the tendency to labialize, which accounts for the appearance of two new phonemes *ö* and *ɔ*. At the same time this development helped to speed up the disappearance of illabial *a* in most dialects. The tendency to labialize was in part responsible for the final loss of *i̯* whose frequency was decreasing all over the language area.



(where *ɔ* and *ö* are new phonemes and *i̯*+ and *a*+ on the way to extinction).

The *i̯* > *u* change occurred only in unstressed syllables: *ari̯k* > *āruk* > *ārok* ⟨árok⟩ 'ditch', *aχsi̯n* > *assun* > *ɔssoń* ⟨asszony⟩ 'woman'. In most cases the *i̯* sound changed into *i*: *ńi̯lu* > *ńīl* ⟨nyíl⟩ 'arrow', *si̯rt* > *sirt* ⟨szirt⟩ 'rock'.

From the eleventh to fourteenth centuries illabial *a* were rounded to *ɔ* in the major part of the language area: *χarasti* > *hɔrɔst* ⟨haraszt⟩ 'dry fallen leaves', *kapū* > *kɔpu* ⟨kapu⟩ 'gate'. Preceding an *l* + dental, *a* became one degree more closed and reached *o*. This change is already present in the first written records. It may well have begun in the Ugric period and it was completed by the end of the thirteenth century. It can thus explain such paradigmatic alternations as *hɔlāl* ⟨halál⟩ 'death' ~ *holt* 'dead', *vɔlō* ⟨való⟩ 'true, real' < 'being' ~ *volt* 'it has been', *ɔlsik* ⟨alszik⟩ 'he is sleeping', *kiɔlsik* ⟨kialszik⟩ 'it is extinguished' ~ *olt* 'he extinguishes'.

Several examples show the labialization of *i* to *ü*. Most instances of *ü* thus developed eventually opened to *ö*; thus the trend *i* > *ü* (> *ö*) is observable in *ǯimilč* > *ďümülč* > *ďümölč* ⟨gyümölcs⟩ 'fruit', *bik* > *bükk* 'beech', *fil* > *fül* 'ear', *ǯinǯü* > *ďüńď* > *ďöńď* ⟨gyöngy⟩ 'pearl', *kiwɛš* > *küwɛš* > *köveš* ⟨köves⟩ 'stony'. This kind of labialization was most active from the tenth to fifteenth centuries. Its influence was strong in the southern parts of the language area, so that following the opening process and *e* > *ö* labialization, the *ö* sound has become there an overburdened phoneme. It must have been from some Transdanubian dialect that the literary language borrowed the following type of words: *vöröš* ⟨vörös⟩ ~ dial. *vereš* 'red', *vödör* ~ dial. *veder* 'bucket', *mögött* ~ dial. *megett* 'behind', *šöpör* ⟨söpör⟩ ~ dial. *šeper* 'he sweeps', *šör* ⟨sör⟩ ~ dial. *šer* 'beer', etc.

From the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries the *e* sound developed into a labial *ö* in *e* + *lt* ~ *ld* ~ *ld'* juncture features: *feld* > *föld* 'earth', *veld'* > *völď* ⟨völgy⟩ 'valley', *zeld* > *zöld* 'green'. In the same position *ɛ* also becomes *ö*. This type of phonetic change is apt to cause other paradigmatic alternations as well: *tɛlɛ* ⟨tele⟩ 'full' ~ *tölt* 'he fills', *kɛl* ⟨kel⟩ 'he gets up' ~ *költ* 'he wakes up sb.'. The *e* sound could be labialized also in other positions from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries: *cevɛk* > *cövɛk* ⟨cövek⟩ 'peg', *ǯelľɛ* > *ǯöjjɛ* ⟨zsöllye⟩ 'armchair'.

Labialization did not take an even course throughout the entire language area; instead conspicuous dialectal differences can be found: *idō* ⟨idő⟩ ~ dial. *üdō* 'time', *išmɛr* ⟨ismer⟩ ~ dial. *üšmɛr* ~ *öšmɛr* 'he knows', *bükk* dial. *bikk* 'beech', *ki* ~ dial. *kü* 'out', *fešt* ⟨fest⟩ dial. *föšt* 'he paints', *fel* ~ *föl* (common language variants) 'up'.

4. There was one change where the place of articulation of a vowel originally formed in the back shifted to the front, viz. the change from *ɨ* to *i*. This had been completed relatively early (in the tenth or eleventh century) throughout the whole of the language area. We cannot find this *ɨ* in any of the existing dialects. Traces of it, however, still survive in the language in general in so far as words which originally contained *ɨ* invariably take back suffixes in vowel harmony: *ńɨlu* > *ńīl* ⟨nyíl⟩ 'arrow' ~ *ńilɔk* ⟨nyilak⟩ 'arrows', *kɨjɨn* > *kīn* ⟨kín⟩ 'pain' > *kīnoš* ⟨kínos⟩ 'awkward, painful', *ɨr* > *īr* ⟨ír⟩ 'he writes' ~ *īrok* ⟨írok⟩ 'I am writing'.

5. Since the law of vowel harmony has been one of the distinguishing features of Hungarian ever since the Finno-Ugric period, it is only natural

that the tendency to cause vowel harmony within the root often prevailed in loanwords and in some compounds of obscure meaning. The assimilation of vowels can proceed progressively or regressively. Examples of progressive (→) assimilation: *meďa* > *meďɛ* ⟨megye⟩ 'county' (< Slav.), *hercog* > *hɛrcɛg* ⟨herceg⟩ 'prince' (< German), *aχsin* > *ɔssoń* ⟨asszony⟩ 'woman' (Iranian). *Heüjou* 'warm river' > *hɛjõ* ⟨Hejő⟩ 'river-name', (*id* 'holy' + *nɔp* 'day') > *idnap* > *ünnɛp* ⟨ünnep⟩ 'holiday'. It is this type of assimilation which accounts for the double (and possibly triple) suffixes which have developed from postpositions or other elements: *hāzbɛn* > *hāzbɔn* ⟨házban⟩ 'in the house' (*hāz* 'house'), but *kɛrdbɛn* ⟨kertben⟩ 'in the garden' has survived; *pukulnɛk* > *pokolnɔk* ⟨pokolnak⟩ 'of the hell' (*pokol* 'hell'); *vīshoz* > *vīshez* ⟨vízhez⟩ 'to the water' (*vīz* 'water'), but *hāshoz* ⟨házhoz⟩ 'to the house' has survived. Regressive (←) assimilation existed as well: (*heü* 'warm + *jou* 'river') > *hējõ* > *hājõ* ⟨Hájó⟩ 'name of a river' (see above the same compound with progressive assimilation as the name of another river); *milost* > *mɔlɔst* ⟨malaszt⟩ 'divine grace' (< Slav.). We find progressive assimilation of the labial type in some of the suffixes: *tűshez* > *tűshöz* ⟨tűzhöz⟩ 'to the fire', *ötser* > *ötsör* or *öccör* ⟨ötször⟩ 'five times'. This last-mentioned change took place in most dialects from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Dissimilation can be demonstrated sporadically: *ďarťan* > *ďerťān* ⟨gyertyán⟩ 'hornbeam-tree', *horńõ* > *herńõ* ⟨hernyó⟩ 'cater-pillar', *ďolkoš* > *ďilkoš* ⟨gyilkos⟩ 'murderer', etc.

6. Certain quantitative vocalic changes are significant from the point of view of the phonetic system. First of all lengthening should be considered. We are seriously handicapped in ascertaining the chronological process of this phenomenon by the fact that Hungarian orthography long failed to discern vowel quantity. Although endeavours to mark vowel length have been made ever since the seventeenth century, no system with a sufficient degree of consistency of marking it could be introduced before the end of the eighteenth century. The lengthening of vowels can be attributed to several factors.

When root-final vowels were lost, a great number of long vowels came into existence. For reason of rhythm, the short vowel became a long one, when the second short (reduced) vowel was dropped. In this manner the length of time it took to pronounce the word was restored by lengthening the preserved vowel. Lengthening of this type was extended to close vowels resulting in paradigmatic alternations: *wizᵢ* > *vīz* ⟨víz⟩ 'water', but: *vizet* (acc.); *tüzᵢ̈* > *tüz* ⟨tűz⟩ 'fire', but *tüzek* 'fires'; *utᵤ* > *ūt* ⟨út⟩ 'road', but *utɔk* ⟨utak⟩ 'roads'; *ludᵤ* > *lūd* ⟨lúd⟩ 'goose', but *ludɔk* ⟨ludak⟩ 'geese', etc. It may also be the case that the lengthened form was analogized in a paradigm, e.g. *hūš* ⟨hús⟩ 'flesh; meat' ~ *hūšok* ⟨húsok⟩ 'meats'; *fūr* ⟨fúr⟩ 'he drills' *fūrok* ⟨fúrok⟩ 'I drill'. Of the half-close vowels only *e* participated in the process of lengthening, because no long *o* and *ö* existed at the time. Examples of *e* > *ē* lengthening: *nežᵢ* > *nēď* ⟨négy⟩ 'four' ~ *neďäd* ⟨negyed⟩ 'quarter', *mēď* ⟨mégy⟩ 'you are going (sing.)' ~ *meďek* ⟨megyek⟩ 'I am going', *lelkᵢ* > *lēlek* ⟨lélek⟩ 'soul' ~ *lelked* 'your soul (sing.)'. Analogically the *e* sound was transferred onto some suffixed forms of *vēr* ⟨vér⟩

'blood', cf. *vēreš* ⟨véres⟩ 'bloody', but: *vereš* ~ *vörōš* ⟨veres ~ vörös⟩ 'red' (originally 'bloody'). Open and half-open vowels also took part in the process of lengthening: *ńaru* > *ńār* ⟨nyár⟩ 'summer' > *ńɔrɔt* ⟨nyarat⟩ (acc.), *madaru* > *mɔdār* ⟨madár⟩ 'bird' ~ *mɔdɔrɔk* ⟨madarak⟩ 'birds', *kɛzi* > *kēz* > *kēz* ⟨kéz⟩ 'hand' ~ *kɛzɛm* ⟨kezem⟩ 'my hand', *jɛgⁱ* > *jēg* > *jēg* ⟨jég⟩ 'ice' ~ *jɛgɛš* ⟨jeges⟩ 'icy', *tɛhɛnⁱ* > *tɛhēn* > *tɛhēn* ⟨tehén⟩ 'cow' ~ *tɛhɛnɛk* ⟨tehenek⟩ 'cows'. In many words a long vowel does not alternate with a short one but remains unchanged throughout the paradigm. Cf. *hāz* ⟨ház⟩ 'house' ~ *hāzɔk* ⟨házak⟩ 'houses', *sāz* ⟨száz⟩ 'hundred' ~ *sāzɔt* ⟨százat⟩ (acc.), *vāg* ⟨vág⟩ 'he cuts' ~ *vāgok* ⟨vágok⟩ 'I cut'.

Lengthening through assimilation also occurs in connection with stress. Several words have developed long vowels in the first syllable if the second syllable contained the same long vowel: *ǯürüγ* > *ǯürū* > *ďūrū* ⟨gyűrű⟩ 'ring', *šarkānu* > *šārkāń* ⟨sárkány⟩ 'dragon', *ǯekenⁱ* > *ďekēn* > *dēkēń* ⟨gyékény⟩ 'mat'.

The first vowel can also become long under the influence of stress: *šatur* > *šātor* ⟨sátor⟩ 'tent', *baršun* > *bāršoń* ⟨bársony⟩ 'velvet', *kiďou* > *kīďō* ⟨kígyó⟩ 'snake', *beľeg* > *bēľeg* > *bējɛg* ⟨bélyeg⟩ 'stamp'. Lenghtening sometimes takes place in monosyllabic words as well: *ōš* > *ōš* ⟨ős⟩ 'ancestor', *hod* > *hōd* ⟨hód⟩ 'beaver'. A long vowel may have developed also through the loss of *γ* or through the monophthongization of diphthongs.

Lengthening most often occurred in stressed position in the word. By contrast, shortening took place in unstressed syllables only, in the non-initial syllable of the word (except the shortening of a stressed open syllable: *fā* > *fɔ*). First, final *i* was shortened as early as the ninth or tenth century: *hāzī* > *hāzi* ⟨házi⟩ 'home-', *nēzī* > *nēzi* ⟨nézi⟩ 'he looks at it'. Shortening of *a* and *e* took place in the thirteenth century as a regular process, and that of *u*, *ü* as an occasional process: *fɛkɛtē* > *fɛkɛte* > *fɛkɛtɛ* ⟨fekete⟩ 'black', *fɛγē* > *fɛē* > *fɛje* > *fɛjɛ* ⟨feje⟩ 'his head', *sēnā* > *sēna* > *sēnɔ* ⟨széna⟩ 'hay', *fā* > *fa* > *fɔ* 'tree'; *kapuγ* > *kapū* > *kɔpu* ⟨kapu⟩ 'gate', *ürū* > *ürü* 'sheep'. The shortening of *ā* resulted first in *a* which was then labialized to *ɔ* (see p. 63), the *ē* sound gave way to *e*, which has developed into an open *ɛ* (see p. 62).

7. The vowel was dropped in several words of three or more syllables where two consecutive syllables — not counting the final one — contained short vowels in syllable-ending position. In such cases the second (sometimes the third) short vowel was dropped occasionally. The tendency has affected the whole of the language area: *urusāg* > *orsāg* ⟨ország⟩ 'country', *hɔlovāń* ~ *hɔlvāń* ⟨halvány⟩ 'pale', *medenica* > *mɛdencɛ* ⟨medence⟩ 'pool', *bukurut* > *bukrut* > *bokrot* 'bush, shrub (acc.)'. Some stressed syllables were lengthened after others were lost: *palica* > *pālcɔ* ⟨pálca⟩ 'rod', *malina* > *mālnɔ* ⟨málna⟩ 'raspberry'. Standard usage has pairs even today where forms with the original short vowel retained are used as much as the other ones containing a consonant cluster: *zɔbolɔ* ~ *zɔblɔ* ⟨zabola ~ zabla⟩ 'bridle', *ɔlusik* ~ *ɔlsik* ⟨aluszik ~ alszik⟩ 'he is sleeping', *hɔlovāń* ~ *hɔlvāń* ⟨halovány ~ halvány⟩ 'pale', *ɔzutān* ~ *ɔstān* ⟨azután ~ aztán⟩ 'then', etc.

8. There are several ways of eliminating hiatus. It is either filled by a consonant (see p. 58) or when a consonant is dropped, the remaining part of the syllable is contracted with the following syllable so as to form a long syllable: *bayatur* > *baatur* > *bātor* ⟨bátor⟩ 'courageous' (see p. 56). However, a short vowel, or one of two short vowels may also be omitted, e.g. *andreāš* > *ɔndrāš* ⟨András⟩ 'Andrew'. Sometimes both forms occur: *leāń* ~ *lāń* ⟨leány ~ lány⟩ 'girl'. The *i* and *e* sounds preceding the hiatus are sometimes dropped so that the consonant standing before them is palatalized: Italian *galea* > H. *gāľo* > *gājo* ⟨gálya⟩ 'galley', Italian *pallio* > H. *pāľo* > *pājo* ⟨pálya⟩ 'path, carreer'.

9. Hungarian had numerous diphthongs in the eleventh to sixteenth centuries. Their posterior members, which were invariably the semivowels *i* or *u* resp. *ü* could be coupled with any of the vowels. A part of the diphthongs having *i* as posterior member were monophthongized to *ī* at a very early stage, prior to the tenth century. In other cases they developed into *ē*: *keik* > *kēk* 'blue'. In still other instances this change occurred at a much later date, continuing up to the end of the sixteenth century. A good number of diphthongs came into being by the vocalization of *χ́* in the suffix *χ́t* in which case it formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: *tonoχ́t* > *tɔnoit* > *tɔnīt* ⟨taníť⟩ 'he teaches', *vɛsɛχ́t* > *vɛseit* > *vɛsīt* ⟨veszít⟩ 'he loses'. This type of phonetic change was not completed before the close of the sixteenth century. The diphthong-like sounds in present-day standard speech are represented phonemically by consonant + *j*: *voj* ⟨vaj⟩ 'butter', *hoj* ⟨haj⟩ 'hair', *ūj* ⟨új⟩ 'new', *böjt* 'fasting', *sɔkojtō* ⟨szakajtó⟩ 'bread-basket'.

Another type of diphthong had *u* or *ü* as posterior constituent. These diphthongs were due to the vocalization of the consonant *γ* which, developing into *u* or *ü*, had merged with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong. Several diphthongs might follow different courses of development. We have to content ourselves here with dealing with some of these rather complicated developments. The *iü* diphthong resulted most frequently in *i*: *miü*, *tiü* > *mī*, *tī* > *mi*, *ti* 'we, you (pl.)' or *ū*: *ńiü* > *ńū* ⟨nyű⟩ 'maggot', *fiü* > *fū* ⟨fű⟩ 'grass'. There existed, however, *iü* > *eü* > *öü* > *ȫ* changes besides the final *ū*: *kiü* > *keü* > *köü* > *kȫ* (~ *kū*) ⟨kő⟩ 'stone', or *tiü* > *tȫ* (~ *tū*) ⟨tő⟩ 'root'. The *iu* sound usually developed into *ī*: *hiu* > *hī* ⟨hí⟩ 'he calls', *viu* > *vī* ⟨ví⟩ 'he fences'. First *eü* was changed to *öü* only to become *ȫ*: *ɛreüš* > *ɛröüš* > *ɛrȫš* ⟨erős⟩ 'strong', *ɛrdeü* > *ɛrdöü* > *ɛrdȫ* ⟨erdő⟩ 'forest', *ideü* > *idöü* > *idȫ* ⟨idő⟩ 'time'. Similarly, the *au* diphthong first changed into *ou* and then into *ō*: *ǯisnaγ* > *ďisnau* > *ďisnou* > *disnō* ⟨disznó⟩ 'pig', *hajou* > *hɔjō* ⟨hajó⟩ 'ship', *sou* > *sō* ⟨szó⟩ 'word', in which cases the *ou* had joined the general course of all other *ou* diphthongs and developed into *ō*. The *ou* could also become *eu* allowing for a subsequent development to *jū* ~ *ū*: *burou* > *bureu* > *borjū* ⟨borjú⟩ 'calf', *worou* > *voreu* > *vɔrjū* ⟨varjú⟩ 'crow', *χusou* > *huseu* > *hosjū* > *hossū* ⟨hosszú⟩ 'long'. In addition, other types of phonetic changes occurred sporadically in the diphthongs just examined, but they may be regarded as more recent developments as well. In the fifteenth century the diphthongs of the *ie* type and at a much later date those of the *uo*, *üö* types emerged in several dis-

connected dialect areas. The diphthongs of recent origin, however, have never attained literary acceptance.

10. Owing to many changes, primarily to those resulting in open, labial, long and monophthongal vowels, the Hungarian vocalism was fully developed by the end of the sixteenth century. The vowel system attained symmetry in regard to quantity. The illabial velar *i̯* has altogether disappeared as did, partly at least, the illabial velar *a* (which, however, survives in some dialects). The system was completed by the introduction of labial *ɔ* and *ö*, and the set of long vowels has been powerfully reinforced by the appearance of the *ō* and *ȫ* sounds. (Of course, it cannot be demonstrated that this system came to predominate in every dialect at the same time.)

u			*ü*		*i*	*ū*			*ǖ*		*ī*
	o		*ö*		*e*		*ō*		*ȫ*		*ē*
		ɔ		*ɛ*						*ɛ̄*	
								ā			

Each short vowel had a corresponding long one and each of them could effect paradigmatical changes by alternation of quantity, save for *o* and *ö*, which were only subject to such alternation in some words: *ūt* ⟨út⟩ 'road' ~ *utɔk* ⟨utak⟩ 'roads', *tūz* ⟨tűz⟩ 'fire' ~ *tüzɛk* ⟨tüzek⟩ 'fires', *īr* ⟨ír⟩ 'he writes' ~ *irɔt* ⟨irat⟩ 'document', (*o* alternates with *ov*): *lō* ⟨ló⟩ 'horse' ~ *lovɔk* ⟨lovak⟩ 'horses', (*ö* with *öv*): *kȫ* ⟨kő⟩ 'stone' ~ *kövɛk* ⟨kövek⟩ 'stones', *nēď* ⟨négy⟩ 'four' ~ *neďɛd* ⟨negyed⟩ 'quarter'; *fāk* ⟨fák⟩ 'trees' ~ *fɔ* ⟨fa⟩ 'tree', *kɛ̄z* 'hand' ~ *kɛzɛ* ⟨keze⟩ 'his hand'.

There was one case of asymmetry in the whole system: the short *a* sound became labial (*ɔ*) but its long counterpart (the *ā* sound) remained illabial and more open. In this instance, a qualitative change was associated with a quantitative one.

The regular, symmetrical relation of long and short vowels was shaken when the *ɛ̄* > *ē* change took place in several dialects (see p. 62). This phenomenon made remarkable headway in the major part of the language area during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The sound *ɛ̄* survived as a separate phoneme in a very restricted region. Although in a different form, the distinction between *ɛ̄* and *ē* has been preserved in the northeastern dialects, where the original *ɛ̄* corresponds to *e͡i* and *ē* to *i͡e* diphthongs. In other dialects a change took place to the advantage of the *ī* sound: the original *ɛ̄* changed into *ē*, and the original *ē* has developed into *ī*. The literary language (and standard spelling) has developed from dialects where only one kind of *ē* existed. Therefore many homonyms came into existence: *ēg* ⟨ég⟩ (< *ɛ̄g*) 'sky' ~ *ēg* ⟨ég⟩ 'burns', *fēl* ⟨fél⟩ (< *fɛ̄l*) 'half' ~ *fēl* ⟨fél⟩ 'he fears', *sēl* (< *sɛ̄l*) ⟨szél⟩ 'wind' ~ *sēl* ⟨szél⟩ 'edge, rim'.

With the *ɛ̄* > *ē* change introduced, the number of long vowels was one less than the short ones in most dialects:

u		*ü*	*i*	*ū*		*ǖ*	*ī*
	o	*ö*	*e*		*ō*	*ȫ*	*ē*
	ɔ		*ɛ*		*ā*		

The asymmetry which thus arose and the fact that subsequently the *ē* sound could alternate paradigmatically not only with the *e* but also with *ɛ* may have been very instrumental in gradually pushing into the background the system of two short *e* (*e* and *ɛ*) sounds. First in the northeastern and then in the eastern parts of the language area, the original system of 8 short and 8 long vowels, then of 8 short and 7 long vowels, was replaced by a system of 7 short and 7 long vowels. In certain regions this change set in as early as the sixteenth century, subsequently affecting the heart of the country (Budapest and environment) and the central variant of the common language (in the written language ever since the sixteenth century):

u	*ü*	*i*	*ū*	*ṻ*	*ī*
o	*ö*		*ō*	*ȫ*	*ē*
ɔ		*ɛ*	*ā*		

In dialects which have only one short *ɛ*, this sound is pronounced anywhere between closed *e* and open *ɛ*.

Although the major part of the language area does make a differentiation between *e* and *ɛ*, many factors are beginning to cause a collapse of these two phonemes. Consequently, the number of those using both phonemes is decreasing. Orthography, first of all, favours the dominance of the single short *ɛ* principle making no distinction whatever between *e* and *ɛ*. The influence of the orthography in this respect receives reinforcement from day to day through books, newspapers and schools. The Hungarian capital with her more than two million inhabitants also works against the preservation of both of the phonemes, its linguistic influence and authority in the provinces being powerfully increased by the rapid multiplication of radio and TV sets all over the country. Owing, to a mass-migration to towns, the number of those speaking the common language is strongly increasing. Finally a by no means negligible factor is the symmetry of the seven short and seven long vowels exerting their influence through paradigmatical changes as well. It goes without saying that the *e* phoneme has a semantic function in those dialects where the phonological opposition *e*: *ɛ* has survived: *heďɛš* 'mountainous', *heďeš* 'pointed' (both written: hegyes), *mentek* 'you are going', *mentɛk* 'they went', *mɛntek* 'I save' (all the three written: mentek).

The combined rate of frequency of the sounds *ɛ* and *e* shows the highest value in phonetic statistics (the *ɛ* sound is represented by ca 7·5 per cent, and *e* by 3·5 per cent, their combined ratio being almost 11 per cent in the range of the 39 sounds). When the two phonemes are taken separately, *ɛ* occupies the third place among the forty (next to *a* and *t*), while *e* is fourteenth, that is one of the most frequent phonemes. In this manner its decay cannot be reduced to considerations of utility.

At the same time long *ī*—*ū*—*ṻ* have been maintained almost solely by the authority of spelling rules and a respect for the symmetry of 7 short and 7 long vowels. They have a minimal rate of frequency: for *ī* 0·47, for *ū* 0·45, for *ṻ* 0·07 per cent, that is hardly 1 per cent when combined. In certain dialects long *ī*, *ū* and *ṻ* do not occur at all. In the standard a small number

of minimal pairs can be found for *i—ī*, *u—ū*, *ü—ṻ*, such as: *īrt* ⟨írt⟩ 'he wrote', *irt* 'he exterminates, extirpates'; *fɔlu* ⟨falu⟩ 'village', *fɔlū* ⟨falú⟩ 'with walls'; *āru* ⟨áru⟩ 'merchandise', *ārū* ⟨árú⟩ 'priced'; *bujɔ* ⟨buja⟩ 'lewd, lusty', *būjɔ* ⟨bója⟩ 'his distress'; *füzet* ⟨füzet⟩ 'copy-book', *fūzet* ⟨fűzet⟩ '1. he has sg. bound by sb., 2. willow (acc.)'. The disappearance of short—long opposition among the high vowels would result in no more than about a dozen homonyms.

APPENDIX

Pronunciation Rules for the Letters of the Hungarian Alphabet

Modern Literary Language

1. The following are the letters of the Hungarian alphabet: *a, á, b, c, cs, d, dz, dzs, e, é, f, g, gy, h, i, í, j, k, l, ly, m, n, ny, o, ó, ö, ő, p, r, s, sz, t, ty, u, ú, ü, ű, v, z, zs*. In foreign words and names *ch, w, y*, and *x* also occur.

2. The individual Hungarian sounds of speech can be characterized as follows:

a [ɔ]: labial, back, half-open, short vowel. It resembles American English *[o]* as in *awful, bought*, but pronounced short: *adok* 'I give', *hat* 'six', *róka* 'fox'.

á [ā]: illabial, central, open, long vowel. The tongue is somewhat higher and more to the front than in English *father* or in German *Vater*. It resembles the *a* vowel in French *quatre* and *là*, pronounced long: *ástam* 'I dug', *várok* 'I wait', *alá* 'under'.

b [b]: bilabial, voiced plosive, like medial *b* in English *rubber, double* or *b* in French *béret, tablier*. It is voiced in all positions: *bal* 'left', *háború* 'war', *lább* 'foot'.

c [c]: dental, hissing, unvoiced affricate. It is pronounced almost like *ts* in English *bets* and is identical with German *z* in *Ziegel, tanzen: cél* 'goal', *pálca* 'rod', *lánc* 'chain'.

cs [č]: alveolar, hushing, unvoiced affricate like English *church, child: család* 'family', *harcsa* 'catfish', *ács* 'carpenter'.

d [d]: dental, voiced plosive, formed somewhat more to the front than the English (alveolar) *d* in *middle*. On the whole, it corresponds to the French *d* in *dáns, parade*. It is voiced in all positions: *dal* 'song', *adok* 'I give', *vad* 'wild'.

dz [ʒ]: dental, hissing, voiced affricate, the voiced counterpart to *c*. It resembles *ds* in English *beds* but is usually pronounced as a geminate: *bodza* (*boʒʒɔ*) 'elder-tree', *edz* (*εʒʒ*) 'he tempers (iron)'. It never occurs initially.

dzs [ǯ]: alveolar, hushing, voiced affricate like in English *gin, jaw, edge: dzsem*, 'jam', *lándzsa* 'lance'. In final or intervocalic position it is pronounced long: *bridzs* 'bridge (card game)', *bridzsezik* 'he plays bridge'.

e [ε]: illabial, front, half-open vowel. Its place of pronunciation is

midway between English *[e]* and *[æ]* as in *bet* and *bat: eső* 'rain', *tele* 'full'. This vowel shows individual variations in tongue height. A considerable part of Hungarian speakers distinguishes two *ε* sounds: *e* and *ε* (see p. 68).

é [ē]: illabial, front, half-close vowel. Its pronunciation resembles that of the long vowel in German *sehnen, Klee,* or the French vowels in *été, chez* pronounced long: *élet* 'life', *remény* 'hope', *kávé* 'coffee'.

f [f]: labiodental, voiced spirant like English *f: father, stuff: fa* 'tree', *kefe* 'brush', *rőf* 'ell'.

g [g]: velar, voiced plosive like English medial *g* in *again, bigger,* or French *guerre, orgue.* It is voiced in all positions: *jég* 'ice', *egér* 'mouse', *gép* 'machine'. It is fully pronounced when preceded by *n [ŋ]: hang* 'voice, sound', *harang* 'bell'.

gy [ď]: palatal, voiced affricate similar to a strongly palatalized *d* followed by a short *j*. Not identical but similar to *d* in French *adieu* or in English *during: gyöngy* 'pearl', *hangya* 'ant'.

h [h]: unvoiced, laryngal (glottal) spirant like English *hill, half, ahead: három* 'three', *óhajt* 'he wishes'. (It is often mute in final position, e.g. *méh* [read *mé*] 'bee', *düh* [read *dü*] 'rage'.)

i [i]: illabial, front, high vowel as in French *fini, vite, ami.* It is not identical with the English *i* sound, because in Hungarian it is higher and tenser: *igaz* 'true', *hitel* 'credit', *északi* 'northern'.

í [ī]: same as the preceding, but pronounced long, as in French *vise, dire, finir* or German *Vieh, Wiese.* It is similar to the English [i:] sound (*leech, bee, beach*), but lacks an offglide: *írtok* 'you write', *zsír* 'fat'. It rarely occurs in final position; *rí* 'he cries'.

j [j]: palatal, voiced spirant like French *yeux, canaille* with stronger friction than in English *young, yield: jó* 'good', *borjú* 'calf', *haj* 'hair'.

k [k]: velar, unaspirated, unvoiced plosive like French *coq, qui.* It is not an aspirate. In English its equivalent occurs, after *s*, e.g. *sky: kor* 'age', *akarok* 'I want'.

l [l]: voiced, lateral alveolar, like English "clear" *l* in *law, ugly, play* or Italian *l (latte, palazzo): ló* 'horse', *talál* 'he finds'.

ly: is a digraph and is pronounced like *j: folyó* (read *fojō*) 'river', *király* (read *kirāj*) 'king'. (It was known in standard usage as late as the end of the eighteenth century and was then pronounced *[ľ]* like *ll* in Spanish *llano.* Today it survives in some dialect regions.)

m [m]: bilabial, voiced nasal like English *more: ma* 'today', *ima* 'prayer', *perem* 'rim'.

n [n]: dental, voiced nasal like English *noon: négy* 'four', *zene* 'music', *szappan* 'soap'. When preceding *k* or *g* (e.g. *munka* 'work', *rang* 'rank, degree'), it is pronounced *[ŋ]* as in English *bank, finger.*

ny [ń]: palatal, voiced nasal like French *agneau, campagne: nyíl* 'arrow', *anya* 'mother', *arany* 'gold'.

o [o]: labial, back, half-close short vowel like French closed *o* in *peau, faut.* It is higher and more rounded than British English *o (cot, hot, lock): ok* 'reason', *bor* 'wine'. It is rare in final position.

ó [ō]: same as the preceding but long and tenser, like German long *o* in *Sohn, Kohle,* only more closed: *óra* 'hour, clock', *kóró* 'dry stalk'.

ö [ö]: labial, half-close, front vowel pronounced short like French close *ø* in *peu, voeux: ökör* 'ox', *több* 'more'. It does not occur in final position.

ő [ȫ]: same as the preceding but long and tenser like German *Röhre, Söhne: őr* 'watchman' *bőr* 'skin', *kő* 'stone'.

p [p]: bilabial, unaspirated, unvoiced plosive like French *parent, époque.* It occurs in English after *s* (*s*pot, as*p*ect): *paraszt* 'peasant', *apa* 'father', *kép* 'picture'.

r [r]: dental, voiced tremulant; uttered by rolling the tip of the tongue four or five times. It resembles Italian *r* as in *regina, caro.* It is not identical with English, French or German but resembles Scotch *r: róka* 'fox', *árok* 'ditch', *kar* 'arm'.

s [š]: alveolar, hushing, unvoiced spirant with a labial character, much like *sh* in English *show, ash* or *ch* in French *château, machine* or *sch* in German *Schade, mischen: sas* 'eagle', *felső* 'upper'.

sz [s]: dental, hissing, unvoiced spirant like *s* in English *set, horse* or French *seau, acide* or German *Maß: szép* 'beautiful', *iszom* 'I drink', *húsz* 'twenty'.

t [t]: dental, unaspirated, unvoiced plosive as in French *tour, attaque;* it is formed more to the front than English *t: tíz* 'ten', *posta* 'post, mail', *öt* 'five'.

ty [ť]: palatal, unvoiced, the voiceless counterpart of *gy.* It resembles French *ti* in *tiens: tyúk* 'hen', *kártya* 'playing card', *korty* 'gulp'.

u [u]: labial, back and high short vowel like French *tout, loup.* It is tenser and further back than English ʊ in *put, book, good: unalom* 'tedium', *furcsa* 'strange', *falu* 'village'.

ú [ū]: same as the preceding but long. It has no offglide as does English long [u·] in *food, two: út* 'road', *kút* 'well, fountain', *fiú* 'boy'.

ü [ü]: labial, front, close and short vowel like French *lutte, lune, pilule: üveg* 'glass', *fürj* 'quail', *eskü* 'oath'.

ű [ǖ]: same as the preceding but long, much the same as French *pur, amuse: űr* 'space', *hűvös* 'chilly', *tű* 'needle'.

v [v]: labiodental, voiced spirant like French *vie, aveugle, neuve* or English *v* in *navy: vív* 'he fences', *vér* 'blood', *szivar* 'cigar', *könyv* 'book'.

z [z]: dental, hissing, voiced spirant like French *zèle, pose, chose* or English *lazy, easy: zúz* 'he crushes', *kezem* 'my hand'.

zs [ž]: alveolar, hushing, voiced spirant as *s* in English *measure,* or *j* in French *journal, âge: zseb* 'pocket', *rőzse* 'twigs', *rizs* 'rice'.

Phonetic values for the characters occurring only in foreign words or in loanwords or in proper names:

ch = *[ẋ]:* palatal, unvoiced spirant like German *ich, rechnen: pech* 'bad luck', *technika* 'technology', or velar *[χ]* as in German *machen, Knoblauch: almanach* 'almanac', *jacht* 'yacht'.

w = *v,* for example: *kilowatt.*

x = *ks,* for example, *expressz* 'express', *oxigén* 'oxygen', or *[gz]: hexaméter* 'hexameter'.

y = *i,* in old-type family names (see p. 72), and also in some modern loanwords: *hobby.*

3. The phonetic value of the letter is not influenced by the stress of the word. A long vowel may occur in an unstressed position or a short one in a stressed position: *találok* 'I find'. The long (geminate) consonants have double the length of their simplex analogues: *bb, cc, dd, ff, gg, hh, jj, kk, ll, mm, nn, pp, rr, ss, tt, vv, zz.* In the case of digraphs or trigraphs, only the first letter is doubled in order to mark gemination: *ccs, ddz, ddzs, ggy, nny, tty, zzs.* Geminate consonants do not occur initially. They are independent of the length of the vowels preceding them (see the following chapter).

In family names sometimes the old spelling is maintained and, therefore, their pronunciations do not correspond to the rules presented above, e.g. *Széchenyi* (read *sēčēńi*), *Kossuth* (read *košut*), *Németh (nēmet), Tóth (tōt), Wesselényi (vɛšɛlēńi), Soós (šōš), Madách (mɔdāč), Batthyány (bɔťťāńi), Wass (vɔš), Dessewffy (dɛžōfi),* etc.

Phonetic Values of the Symbols Used in Technical Literature (Dialectology, Historical Phonology)

ȧ [a] = unrounded open short vowel, similar to Spanish or Italian *a*, like in *alto, ragazza.*
ë [e] = similar to English *e* in *bet, bell* but somewhat higher.
ä [ä] = corresponds by and large to English *æ* in *back* or *gap.*
ǟ [ǟ] = *ä* uttered long.
œ [ö] = labial, front, half-open vowel like in French *heure.*
œ [ȫ] = *ö* uttered long.
ā [ɔ̄] = Hungarian *a* uttered long.
i̯ = unrounded, back and close short vowel like Russian *ы.*
ć = palatal affricate.
β [w] = English *w* in *well, always.*
φ = bilabial, unvoiced spirant, unvoiced counterpart of *β.*
χ = velar, unvoiced spirant, unvoiced counterpart to *γ* like in German *machen, suchen.*
γ = velar, voiced spirant, the voiced counterpart of *χ.*
χ́ = palatal unvoiced spirant, unvoiced counterpart to *j* as in German *ich, sicher.*
ψ = bilabial tremulant.
ʿ = symbol for aspiration e.g. *pʿ, tʿ, kʿ,* like initial stops of stressed English syllables: *past, token, car.*
‿ = symbol of diphthongization: *o‿u, ö‿ü, u‿a,* etc.
̨ = naso-oral vowel, e.g. *ǫ* like in French *sont, compter* or *ę* like in French *plain, satin.*
ˇ = indicates more open pronunciation of the sound: *o̥, e̥.*
ˆ = indicating more closed pronunciation of the sound: *a̯, e̯.*
̣ = pronounced with less rounding of the lips than usual: *ọ̈, ụ̈, ọ̋, ụ̋.*
̥ = pronounced with more rounding of the lips than usual: *e̥, ë̥, i̥.*
raised lower-case letters, e.g. *i, u, ü* = reduced pronunciation of the vowels.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE LETTERS AND SYMBOLS USED

Hungarian alphabet	Transliteration used in this volume	FUF	IPA
a	*ɔ*	*å,*	*ɒ*
á	*ā*	*ā*	*a:*
b	*b*	*b*	*b*
c	*c*	*c*	*t͡s*
cs	*č*	*č*	*t͡ʃ*
d	*d*	*d*	*d*
dz	*ʒ*	*dz*	*d͡z*
dzs	*ǯ*	*dž*	*d͡ʒ*
e	*ɛ*	*ɛ*	*ɛ*
é	*ē*	*ē*	*e:*
f	*f*	*f*	*f*
g	*g*	*g*	*g*
gy	*ď*	*ď*	*ɟ*
h	*h*	*h*	*h*
i	*i*	*i*	*i*
í	*ī*	*ī*	*i:*
j	*j*	*j*	*j*
k	*k*	*k*	*k*
l	*l*	*l*	*l*
ly	*j*	*j*	*j*
m	*m*	*m*	*m*
n	*n*	*n*	*n*
ny	*ń*	*ń*	*ɲ*
o	*o*	*o*	*o*
ó	*ō*	*ō*	*o:*
ö	*ö*	*ö*	*ø*
ő	*ȫ*	*ȫ*	*ø:*
p	*p*	*p*	*p*
r	*r*	*r*	*r*
s	*š*	*š*	*ʃ*
sz	*s*	*s*	*s*
t	*t*	*t*	*t*
ty	*ť*	*ť*	*c*
u	*u*	*u*	*u*
ú	*ū*	*ū*	*u:*
ü	*ü*	*ü*	*y*
ű	*ǖ*	*ǖ*	*y:*
v	*v*	*v*	*v*
z	*z*	*z*	*z*
zs	*ž*	*ž*	*ʒ*

Hungarian alphabet used in dialectology	Transliteration used in this volume	FUF	IPA
ĕ	e	e	e
ȧ	a	a	a
ē	ɛ̄	ɛ̄	ɛ:
ā	ɔ̄	ā	ɒ:
œ	ɔ̈	œ	œ
œ̄	ɔ̈̄	œ̄	œ:
ä	ä	ä	æ
ā	ā	ā	æ:
ly	ľ	ľ	λ
β	β	w, β	β
φ	φ	φ	φ
ψ	ψ	ψ	

THE PRESENT-DAY HUNGARIAN PHONEMIC SYSTEM*

Consonants

The 25 Hungarian consonants can be determined according to the following characteristic features: 1. the manner of articulation; 2. the place of articulation: 3. participation of vocal chords (voice—voicelessness); 4. quantity.

1. According to the manner of articulation we can distinguish: oral stops (*p, b, t, d, k, g*), nasals (*m, n, ny*), a tremulant (*r*), fricatives (*f, v, sz, z, s, zs, j, h*), a lateral (*l*): and affricates (*c, dz, cs, dzs, ty, gy*).

Some of the Hungarian grammars class the *ty* and *gy* sounds with the oral stops. Since, however, the stoppage is resolved in a split: *ťχ, ďj*, we have grouped them together with the affricates.

2. According to the place of articulation the sounds can be grouped into labial (bilabial, labiodental): *p, b, m, f, v*; dental (alveolar): *t, d, n, r, sz, z, l, c, dz, s, zs, cs, dzs*; palatal: *ty, gy, ny, j*; velar: *k, g*; and a glottal (laryngal): *h*.

3. According to the action of the vocal chords, the consonants are either voiced or voiceless. The voiced consonants are the nasals: *m, n, ny;* a lateral: *l;* a tremulant: *r;* the oral stops: *b, d, g;* the spirants: *v, z, zs, j;* the affricates: *dz, dzs* and *gy*. The unvoiced consonants are the plosives: *p, t, k*, the spirants: *f, sz, s*, and also *h* as a rule: further, the affricates: *c, cs* and *ty*. Hungarian has 15 voiced and 10 unvoiced consonants.

In pre-vocalic position the *h*, as well as *ch* in some words of foreign character, sounds a glottal spirant: *három* 'three', *mehet* 'he can go', *mechanika* (read *mehɔnikɔ*) 'mechanics'. Written *h* sound is usually silent in final position in one-syllable words: *méh* (read *mē*) 'bee', but *méhes [mēhɛš]* 'apiary', *düh* (read *dü*) 'fury, rage' but *dühös [dühöš]* 'furious', *juh* (read

* In this chapter the Hungarian sounds are given according to Hungarian spelling. In the cases of assimilation or irregularities the pronunciation is given in italicized square brackets.

ju) 'ewe, sheep' but *juhász [juhās]* 'shepherd'. (In compounds and suffixed forms of these words the *h* is also silent, if a consonant follows: *méhnek [mēnɛk]* 'for the bee', *méhkas [mēkɔš]* 'bee-hive', *dühtől [dütōl]* 'with rage'.)

When preceding a consonant or following a front vowel, *h* and *ch* (this latter in foreign words and in final position), is articulated as *χ́: ihlet* [*iχ́lɛt*] 'inspiration', *pech [peχ́]* 'bad luck'. Following back vowels in similar position *h* and *ch* (in foreign words) is *[χ]: potroh [potroχ]* 'abdomen, pot-belly', *jacht [jɔχt]* 'jacht'. The *j* sound is pronounced unvoiced after an unvoiced consonant and after *r: kapj [kɔpχ́]* 'do you get!', *lökj [lökχ́]* 'push!' *varrj [vɔrχ́]* 'sew!'.

Present-day standard Hungarian has the following consonants:

Place of articulation	Stops		Spirants		Affricates		Laterals	Tremulants	Nasals
Bilabial	*p*	*b*							*m*
Labiodental			*f*	*v*					
Dental	*t*	*d*	*sz*[=*s*]	*z*	*c*	*dz*[=*ʒ*]	*l*	*r*	*n*
Alveolar			*s*[=*š*]	*zs*[=*ž*]	*cs*[=*č*]	*dzs*[=*ǯ*]			
Palatal				*j*	*ty*[=*ť*]	*gy*[=*ď*]			*ny*
Velar	*k*	*g*							
Laryngal (glottal)			*h*						

4. In Hungarian, each consonant can be pronounced short (even *dz* in exceptional cases) or geminate. Geminates have approximatively double the length of short consonants. In the case of a plosive, only the stoppage lasts longer.

Quantity in consonants is as significant as in vowels: *hal* 'fish' ~ *hall* 'he hears', *has* 'belly' ~ *hass!* 'be effective!', *var* 'crust' ~ *varr* 'he sews'.

Certain consonants are pronounced long, i.e. geminate even in cases when they are written short in the orthography *egy* (read *eďď*) 'one', similarly, the *gy* in suffixed forms and derivatives of *egy* is pronounced long in intervocalic position: *egyetlen* (read *eďďɛtlɛn*) 'single', *egyesület* (read *eďďɛšülɛt*) 'society', *egyezik* (read *eďďɛzik*) 'it agrees with', but: *egyedül [eďɛdül]* 'alone' *egyén [eďēn]* 'person, individual'. Long (i.e. geminate) quantity is general for the following cases: *lesz* (read *less*) 'it will be', *kisebb* (read *kiššɛbb*) 'smaller'. In return, it is rather usual to pronounce the geminate *l* with short quantity if it precedes *á: állat* (read *ālɔt*) 'animal', *istálló* (read *ištālō*) 'stable', *szakáll* (read *sɔkāl*) 'beard'.

In pre- or post-consonantal position the consonant is not pronounced geminate as a rule: *többnek* (read *töbnɛk*) 'for more', *otthon* (read *othon*) 'at home', *ronggyá* (read *roňďā*) 'into a rag', *társsal* (read *tāršɔl*) 'with a companion'. This feature of pronunciation may be crossed by a case of assimilation according to voiced-unvoiced correlation: *többször [töpsör]* 'several times', *sakkban tart* (read *šɔgbɔ tɔrt*) 'he keeps in check'.

Vowels

The Hungarian vowels are normally oral. The vowels are determined by four factors: 1. the direction in which the middle of the tongue is raised; 2. the degree to which the middle of the tongue is raised; 3. the action of the lips; 4. quantity.

1. According to the direction in which the middle of the tongue is raised, we can distinguish back vowels and front vowels. Front vowels are the following: *e, é, ö, ő, i, í, ü, ű,* back ones are: *á* (well to the centre), *a, o, ó, u, ú.*

2. In respect to tongue height we discern open, half-open, half-close and close vowels. Present-day Hungarian usage does not fully avail itself of the possibilities given in the various degrees of the elevation of the tongue. The vowel *á* is open, *a* and *e* are half-open, *o, ö, ó, é* and *ő* are half-close, and *u, ú, ü, ű, i, í* are high (close).

3. Labiality is a factor of rounding the lips. The more open a vowel, the more open and lax the action of the lips. The *á* vowel represents a transition between illabial and labial positions. We group it along with the former ones. The labial vowels are: *a, o, ó, u, ú, ö, ő, ü, ű.* The illabial vowels are: *á, e, é, i, í.*

4. A quantitative differentiation results in the categories of long and short vowels. The former comprises *á, é, í, ó, ő, ú, ű;* the latter *a, e, i, o, ö, u, ü.* Long vowels are usually somewhat tenser in pronunciation than their short counterparts. Purely quantitative differences can be spoken of in the case of the high vowels only. The half-close long vowels are noticeably more closed than their shorter pairs. The *e [ɛ]* sound is one degree more open than *é,* while *a [ɔ]* is one degree higher than *á* (and *a* is also labial).

The four characteristic features can be exemplified by the following table:

Back vowels					Front vowels				
u, ú							*ü, ű*	*i, í*	close
	o, ó					*ö, ő*	*é*		half-close
		a			*e*				half-open
			á						open

In most dialects and in the majority of standard-speaking persons we find even today a short illabial, half-close front vowel, this typical phoneme being *ë [e]* (see pp. 68,70). In more familiar standard speech, as well as in certain dialects, *ɛ̄* also occurs (as a long phonetic correlate of *ɛ*) and the *ɔ̄,* (as a long phonetic correlate of *ɔ*): *ɛ̄rɛ* (written: *erre*) 'in this direction', *ɛ̄ment* ('written: *elment*) 'he went away', *ɔ̄rɔ* (written: *arra*) 'in that direction', *ɔ̄sɔ̄* (written: *alsó*) 'lower'.

The numerical distribution of the individual vowels is shown in the following table:

front 8 back 6	close 6 half-close 5 half-open 2 open 1	illabial 5 labial 9	long 7 short 7
total 14	14	14	14

Hungarian standard pronunciation has very rarely an *ű* sound in initial position. Only the noun *űr* 'space' and its derivates and the verb *űz* 'he pursues' are known to contain it as a beginning phoneme of the word. Similarly rare occurrences are final short *u*, and *ü* (*falu* 'village', *áru* 'goods', *ürü* 'sheep, mutton', etc.). In final position the *í* sound occurs only in a few one-syllable words, such as *rí* 'he cries', *hí* ~ *hív* 'he calls', *ví* ~ *vív* 'he fences, fights'. Short *o* occurs as final only in the interjection *no*, *nono*. Short *ö* never in final position.

(Hungarian practice makes no distinction between short and long vowels in alphabetical order as used dictionaries and lexicons. Consequently, words are arranged as in the following: *ártér*, *artéria*, *árterület*, *ártézi*, *articsóka* . . . *élesség*, *eleste*, *eleszik*, *éleszt* . . . *ingyenes*, *ínhártya*, *iniciálé*, etc.)

Phonemic Statistics

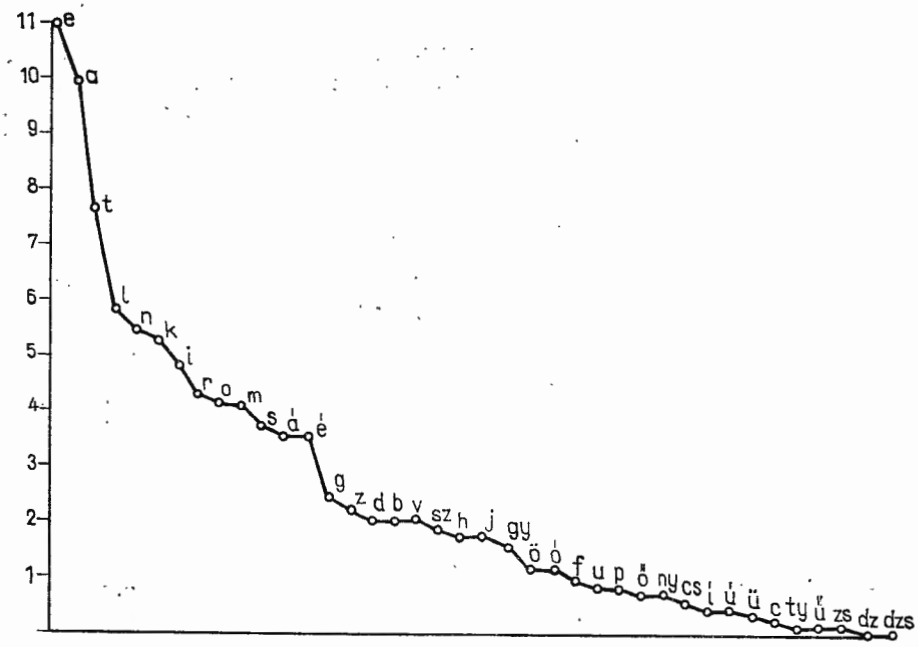
The ratio between vowels and consonants is 42 : 58. Their distribution in texts is shown in percentages in the following table:

sound	per cent	sound	per cent
e	10·93	*j*	1·75
a	9·90	*gy*	1·59
t	7·70	*ö*	1·14
l	5·84	*ó*	1·12
n	5·46	*f*	0·92
k	5·30	*u*	0·85
i	4·83	*p*	0·84
r	4·21	*ő*	0·75
o	4·19	*ny*	0·74
m	4·12	*cs*	0·56
s	3·80	*í*	0·47
á	3·56	*ú*	0·45
é	3·55	*ü*	0·42
g	2·51	*c*	0·22
z	2·32	*ty*	0·10
d	2·13	*ű*	0·07
b	2·06	*zs*	0·06
v	2·06	*dz*	0·01
sz	1·90	*dzs*	0·01
h	1·76		

Accordingly, these sounds can be arranged as follows:

3 of very high occurrence (*e*, *a*, *t*)	28·53 per cent
10 of high occurrence (*l*, *n*, *k*, *i*, *r*, *o*, *m*, *s*, *á*, *é*)	44·86 per cent
9 of moderate occurrence (*g*, *z*, *d*, *b*, *v*, *sz*, *h*, *j*, *gy*)	18·08 per cent
11 of low occurrence (*ö*, *ó*, *f*, *u*, *p*, *ő*, *ny*, *cs*, *í*, *ú*, *ü*)	8·26 per cent
6 of very low occurrence (*c*, *ty*, *ű*, *zs*, *dz*, *dzs*)	0·47 per cent

These results are projected in the following graph:



INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE SPEECH SOUNDS

Vowels

The vowels may be interconnected in three different ways: (1) they may obey the laws of vowel harmony; (2) they may show paradigmatic alternations; (3) they may be subject to facultative changes.

1. On the basis of vowel harmony a number of suffixes may assume two or three different forms, depending on whether the place of articulation of the vowels dominating the body of the word to which they are added is in the front part (when labialization can also be involved) or in the rear part of the oral cavity. In such instances the position of the tongue has about the same degree of elevation with the difference, however, that either the point (in case of front vowels) or the back (in case of back vowels) of the tongue is raised. The suffixes usually have two forms when containing half-open (*a*, *e*), open and half-close (*á*, *é*) or half-close long vowels (*ó*, *ő*). They are usually of three forms in the case of half-close short vowels *o* ~ *ɛ* ~ *ö* (or *o* ~ *e* ~ *ö* if the speakers' language has both *e* and *ɛ* sounds), for example:

-ban ~ *-ben* 'in' *-nál* ~ *-nél* 'at'
-juk ~ *-jük* (pl. 1. pers. def. conj.) *-nak* ~ *-nek* 'to (dat.)'
-vá ~ *-vé* 'into' *-ul* ~ *-ül* 'for, by'
-tól ~ *-től* 'from' *-hoz* ~ *-hez* ~ *-höz* 'to'
-ból ~ *-ből* 'from' *-szor* ~ *-szer* ~ *-ször* 'time(s)'.

In some bisyllabic suffixes, two types co-occur: *áll-dogál* 'he is standing about' < *áll* 'he is standing' — *él-degél* 'he leads an uneventful life' < *él* 'he lives' — *ül-dögél* 'he is sitting about' < *ül* 'he is sitting'.

2. Long and short vowels (*é* ~ *e* and *á* ~ *a*) alternate in some stems: *tehén* 'cow' ~ *tehenet* (acc.), *fa* 'tree' ~ *fát* (acc.). Some alternations in quantity are accompanied by qualitative ones: *vő* 'son-in-law' ~ *veje* 'his son-in-law', *ajtó* 'door' ~ *ajtaja* 'its door', *tó* 'lake' ~ *tavak* 'lakes'.

3. Facultative variants occur in height (one degree) as in *csuda* ~ *csoda* 'wonder, miracle' and in labiality as in *fel* ~ *föl* 'up', *seper* ~ *söpör* 'he sweeps', *földmíves* ~ *földműves* 'peasant'. Other facultative changes are caused by hiatus in some shortened forms: *leány* ~ *lány* 'girl', *reá* ~ *rá* 'onto'.

Consonants

An important feature of Hungarian phonetics is the assimilation among neighbouring consonants. Assimilation is either full or partial.

1. Voice assimilation is partial. In Hungarian, this type is nearly always regressive (←), the first consonant adapts itself to the second. This main type includes four groups:

(a) Each pair of consonants (*p* — *b*, *t* — *d*, *k* — *g*, *sz* — *z*, *s* — *zs*, *c* — *dz*, *cs* — *dzs*, *ty* — *gy*) and the consonant *f* are apt to induce change or be changed, resp., in order to eliminate the single qualitative difference in voiced–unvoiced character separating them. Examples of voiced assimilation: *kapdos [kɔbdoš]* 'he tries to grip', *átdob [āddob]* 'he throws through', *lakbér [logbēr]* 'house-rent', *részben [rēzbɛn]* 'partly', *lakásból [lɔkāžbōl]*

'from the apartment', *táncdal [tānzdɔl]* 'dance-song', *ácsbárd [āʒbārd]* 'broad axe', *rőfben mér [rövbɛm mēr]* 'he measures by the ell'. Examples of unvoiced assimilation: *zabföld [zɔpföld]* 'oats field', *adtam [ɔttɔm]* 'I gave', *megtör [mektör]* 'he crushes', *száz forint [sās forint]* 'a hundred forints', *varázskör [vɔrāškör]*, 'magic circle', *fogódzkodik [fogōckodik]* 'he clings to', *bridzstől [bričtől]* 'from the bridge (card-game)', *hegytető [heťtɛtő]* 'summit, crest'.

(b) The *h* sound can induce change but cannot be changed: *rabhoz [rɔphoz]* 'to the convict', *adhatok [ɔthɔtok]* 'I can/may give', *világhírű [vilākhīrū]* 'world-famous', *házhely [hāshɛj]* 'building-lot', *ágyhuzat [āťhuzɔt]* 'bed-linen'.

(c) The *v* sound can be changed though it cannot induce change itself: *sávtól [šāftōl]* 'from the zone', *révkalauz [rēfkɔlɔuz]* 'licenced pilot', *szívhallgató [szīfhɔlgɔtō]* 'stethoscope'; but: *sós vaj [šōš vɔj]* 'salted butter', *kapva [kɔpvɔ]* 'getting'. (In certain dialects *v* can also induce change.)

(d) The liquids, the nasals and *j* can neither induce change nor be changed. For example: *háromszor [hāromsor]* 'trice', *fájhat [fājhɔt]* 'it may hurt', *szóltak [sōltɔk]* 'they said', *furcsa [furčɔ]* 'funny', *bánt [bānt]* 'he hurts', *leányka [leāńkɔ]* 'little girl', *futnak [futnɔk]* 'they are running', *látlak [lātlɔk]* 'I see you', *kapja [kɔpjɔ]* 'he gets it', *hátra [hātrɔ]* 'back', *kap ma [kɔp mɔ]* 'he gets today', *öt nyíl [öt ńīl]* 'five arrows'.

Only one case of voice assimilation displays the inverse trend. When pre-final *p, f, k* and *r* (which is voiced) are followed by *j*, this *j* is unvoiced, e.g., *ne lopj [ne lopχ̌]* 'do not steal!' *rakj [rɔkχ̌]* 'put on', *dőfj [dőfχ̌]* 'stab!', *varrj [vɔrχ̌]* 'sew!'.

According to the place of articulation, mainly the nasals assimilate. Before the labiodentals *(f, v)*, *m* and *n* occur as the labiodental *[m̪]*: *hamvas [hɔm̪vɔš]* 'bloomy', *honvéd [hom̪vēd]* 'Hungarian soldier', *kámfor [kām̪for]* 'camphor', *negyven forint [nɛďvɛm̪ forint]* 'forty forints'. Preceding the velars *k* and *g*, *n* also becomes velar: *minket [miŋkɛt]* 'us', *barlang [bɔrlɔŋg]* 'cave'. Preceding bilabials, *n* becomes *m*: *azonban [ɔzombɔn]* 'however', *negyven pár [nɛďvɛm pār]* 'forty couples', *azonmód [ɔzommōd]* 'immediately'. Before *ty [ť]*, *gy [ď]* and *ny [ń]* *n* occurs as *ń*: *konty [końť]* 'bun', *angyal [ɔńďɔl]* 'angel', *eleven nyúl [ɛlɛvɛń ńūl]* 'a living hare'.

2. Full assimilation can be regressive (←) when *j* immediately follows a palatal consonant *(d, t, n)*; *j* merges with the preceding consonant and geminates it: *bátyja [bāťťɔ]* 'his elder brother', *hagyja [hɔďďɔ]* 'he lets it', *anyja [ɔńńɔ]* 'his mother'. Nevertheless, it is usually progressive (→): *lj* > *jj*: *csináljuk [činājjuk]* 'we are making it'. This group includes many cases of assimilation with a morphological significance. For example, the *j* suffix of imperative and the objective declension merges with the preceding spirant: *mássz [māss* < *mās* + *j]* 'climb!', *mossa [moššɔ* < *moš* + *jɔ]* 'she washes it', *nézzük [nézzük* < *néz* + *jük]* 'let us see it!'. In the verb *fest [fešt]* 'he paints', and in words ending in *[st]*, the *t* is omitted in such situations as *akassza fel [ɔkɔssɔ* < *ɔkɔst* + *jɔ]* 'hang it up!', *fessen [feššen* < *fešt* + *jen]* 'may he paint'.

Descriptive grammars regard as assimilation also the consonantal alternations in two suffixes (instrumental and factitive). The instrumental has the form *-val/-vel [-vɔl/-vɛl]* after a vowel: *hajóval* 'by ship', *kávéval* 'with coffee'. If the stem ends in a consonant, the instrumental suffix begins with the final consonant: (final C) + *al [ɔl]* / (final C) + *el [ɛl]: kalapáccsal [kɔlɔpāč-čɔl]* 'with a hammer', *legénnyel [lɛgēń-ńɛl]* 'with a young unmarried man', *habbal [hɔb-bɔl]* 'with foam', *késsel [kēš-šɛl]* 'with a knife'.

We find an analogous alternation in the suffix of the factitive. After a final vowel it is *-vá/-vé [-vā/-vē]: katonává* '(to a) soldier', *feketévé* '(to) black'. After a final consonant: (final C) + *á [ā]* / (final C) + *é [ē]*, e.g. *kékké (válik) [kēk-kē vālik]* '(it becomes) blue', *világgá (megy) [vilāg-gā meď]* 'he goes out onto the world'.

The demonstrative pronouns show bo thregressive and progressive assimilation in the comitative: *avval* ~ *azzal* 'with that', *evvel* ~ *ezzel* 'with this', although their factitive is regular: *azzá (válik)* '(it becomes) that', *ezzé (lesz)* '(it becomes) this'.

In verbs in which the root ends in *t*, the *j* suffix of the imperative induces a change from *tj* to *šš*, e.g. *ütök* 'I strike' ~ *üšš* (spelled *üss*), *látok* 'I see' ~ *lāššuk!* (spelled *lássuk*) 'let us see!'. In still other instances the change is *tj* > *čč* ~ *č: šɛgīt* (spelled *segít*) 'he helps', *šɛgīčč!* (spelled *segíts!*) 'help!', *kiált* 'he cries' *kiālč!* (spelled *kiálts!*) 'cry!'.

Long or geminate consonants are pronounced short if immediately preceded or followed by another consonant: *forrt [fort]* 'it boiled', *jobbra [jobrɔ]* 'to the right', *parttalan [pɔrtɔlɔn]* 'shoreless', *sarkkör [šɔrkör]* 'polar circle'. This particular phenomenon is subject to wide individual variation; some speakers lengthen the geminates somewhat perhaps on the basis of a spelling pronunciation.

APPENDIX

The Syllable and Hyphenation

In Hungarian the following types of syllables are the most frequent:

In one-syllable words:

VC	*öt*	'five'	*ad*	'he gives'
VC_1C_2	*ért*	'he understands'	*élt*	'he lived'
CV	*ti*	'you'	*só*	'salt'
CVC	*szép*	'nice'	*lát*	'he sees'
CVC_1C_2	*part*	'coast'	*fest*	'he paints'

As first syllables in words consisting of more than one syllable:

V	*a*-ka-rat	'will (n.)'	*e*-gér	'mouse'
VC	*asz*-tal	'table'	*ér*-ted	'for you'
CV	*ka*-to-na	'soldier'	*fe*-je	'his head'
CVC	*ker*-tek	'gardens'	*macs*-ka	'cat'
CVC_1C_2	*part*-ról	'from the coast'	*kert*-ben	'in the garden'

As medial syllables:

V	fi-*a*-im	'my sons'	fi-*a*-tal	'young'
CV	ka-*to*-na	'soldier'	ke-*ve*-rék	'mixture'
CVC	ker-*tek*-ben	'in gardens'	há-*rom*-kor	'at three o'clock'

As final syllables:

V	fi-*a*	'his son'	á-ri-*a*	'air'
VC	fi-*ad*	'your son'	ki-*es*	'delightful'
VC_1C_2	ri-*aszt*	'he alarms'	fi-*unk*	'our son'
CV	ka-to-*na*	'soldier'	macs-*ka*	'cat'
CVC	kert-*ben*	'in the garden'	é-*hes*	'hungry'
CVC_1C_2	a-*zért*	'therefore'	ke-*resd*	'look for him'

Only in word-initial position can a syllable begin with a consonant cluster of two or three members: *bre*-keg 'it croaks', *strand*-ra' to the beach' [$(C_n)V(C_n)$]; in all other position, the syllable begins with a vowel of a single consonant, [$(C)V(C_n)$] (n index in these examples means that one, two or three consonants may stand in the indicated place, while the round brackets mark the possible absence of consonants). Exceptions of hyphenation are the synchronically analyzable compounds: *vas-út* 'railroad' (*vas* 'iron' + *út* 'road'), *rend-őr* 'policeman' (*rend* 'order' + *őr* 'guard').

Present-day Hungarian spelling observes the above rules of hyphenation. When dividing compound letters of geminate (long) consonants, both characters should be marked before as well as after the hyphen: *any-nyi (annyi)* 'as much as', *fagy-gyú (faggyú)* 'tallow', *asz-szony (asszony)* 'woman'.

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THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM OF HUNGARIAN

by

SÁNDOR KÁROLY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of three main parts. The first deals with sentence formation, the second with word formation and the third with morphology, i.e., with the structure of the various parts of speech and with the formal rules for combining morphemes.

The section on syntax will treat the main structural features of sentences, the specific characteristics of nominal sentences and of sentences with a copula or with a verb. Attributive and participial patterns are dealt with as transformations of corresponding sentence types. Questions of sentence patterns will be discussed in the following order: the relation between function and sentence pattern, the analysis of constructions, and the history of such constructions. (The development of morphemes not discussed in detail under syntax is traced in the chapter on word morphology.) The discussion of simple sentence patterns is followed by a treatment of the expression of modality, the question of actual articulation and word order, and compound sentences. Derivational suffixes highly important from the syntactic point of view, participles and voice are also examined in the syntax.

It will be our aim throughout to call attention to the specific Finno-Ugric and even Uralic characteristics of Hungarian.

Notation: 1. ' ' Translation of the Hungarian example (mostly sentences);
2. (' ') Translation of one part of the Hungarian sentence;
3. (=) word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the Hungarian text;
4. ' ' + ' ' literal translation of a compound.

The quotations from old Hungarian literature (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) are given in their original form save for some corrections of certain paleographic features. For example, the old-type character *ſ* is replaced by *s*, *ꝛ* by *r*, and the contractions are resolved, e.g. old-type *z* by *es*.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS, STRUCTURE AND FORM OF THE SENTENCE

The Main Characteristics of the Hungarian Sentence

Basically, the Hungarian sentence is agglutinative, i.e., grammatical relations are expressed by means of affixes. It shares this feature with other Uralic languages. It also has some isolating characteristics such as the use

of auxiliary words and of word order as in *A fiú jó.* ~ *A jó fiú . . .* 'The boy is good.' ~ 'The good boy . . .' The main units of relevance here are suffixes (from among the affixes) and postpositions (from among the auxiliary words). Hungarian, like most Uralic languages, has no prefixes. Preverbs and the definite article developed, as in the Ob-Ugric languages but independently of them, after Hungarian separated from Proto-Ugric. The two lastmentioned features are not characteristic of Uralic languages in general.

The Main Types of Sentence Construction

A scheme of the main types of sentence structure in Hungarian is given below. The bracket ( ) marks a word or a morpheme junction with word boundary. Grammatical category in capital letters (NOUN) represents stem and affix as an internally unseparated unit. IS stands for the paradigm of the verb *van* 'to be'. For the sake of simplicity word order solutions given below represent many others.

Nominal sentence

1.	[(NOUN)]$_{subject}$	+	[(ADJECTIVE)	+ (auxiliary verb)]$_{predicate}$
1. (a)	,,		,,	Ø
1. (b)	,,		,,	not Ø
2.	,,		[(NOUN)	+ (auxiliary)]$_{predicate}$
2. (a)	,,		,,	Ø
2. (b)	,,		,,	not Ø

Examples: 1. (a) *A bátyám ügyes.* 'My brother is clever.'
1. (b) *A bátyám ügyes volt.* 'My brother was clever.'
2. (a) *A bátyám katona.* 'My brother is a soldier.'
2. (b) *A bátyám katona volt.* 'My brother was a soldier.'

Sentence with copula

1. [(NOUN)]$_{subject}$ + [(IS)]$_{predicate}$
2. ,, [(noun + case suff.) + (IS)]$_{predicate}$
3. [(noun + dat. suff.) + (IS)]$_{predicate}$ + [(noun + poss. suffix)]$_{subject}$

Examples: 1. *Atomágyú van.* 'Atomic cannon exists.'
2. *A könyv az asztalon van.* 'The book is on the table.'
3. *Az öcsémnek autója van.* 'My brother has a car.'

Verbal sentence

1. [(NOUN)]$_{subject}$ + [(VERB)]$_{predicate}$
2. ,, [(VERB) + (noun + case suff.)]$_{predicate}$
3. ,, [(VERB) + (noun + case suff.) + (noun + case suff.)]$_{predicate}$

Examples: 1. *A szél fúj.* 'The wind is blowing.'
2. *A szél fújja a levelet.* 'The wind is blowing the leaf.'
3. *A szél befújja az utat hóval . . .* 'The wind is blowing snow over the road . . .'

Postpositions can also stand in place of case suffixes: *A szél befújja a havat az eresz alá.* 'The wind is blowing snow under the eaves.'

NOUN = 1. (article) + (substantival stem + substantival base suff. + case suff.)
1. (a) Ø ,, Ø Ø
1. (b) Ø ,, + substantival base suff. + Ø
1. (c) Ø ,, Ø + + case suff.
2. (article) + (substantival stem + subs. base suff. + postpos.)
2. (a) Ø ,, Ø ,,

(substantival base suffix = plural suffix or possessive personal ending)

Examples: 1. *a ház-am-ban* or *a ház-ak-ba;* 1. (a) *ház* 'house'; 1. (b) *ház-am* 'my house' or *ház-ak* 'houses'; 1. (c) *ház-ban* 'in house'; 2. *a ház-am mellett* 'beside my house'; 2. (a) *ház mellett* 'beside the house';

VERB = 1. (stem of verb + modal suffixes)
1. (a) ,, Ø
2. (preverb + stem of verb + modal suff.)
2. (a) ,, ,, Ø
3. (stem of verb + modal suff.) + (auxiliary verb)
3. (a) ,, Ø ,,

(modal suffix = personal ending, suffix of time and suffix of mood)

Examples: 1.	*tanul-ok*	'I am learning'
	tanul-t-am	'I learned'
1. (a)	*tanul*	'he is learning'
2.	*meg + tanul-om*	'I shall learn'
	meg + tanul-j-am	'I should learn'
2. (a)	*meg + tanul*	'he is learning'
3.	*tanul-t-a volna*	'he would have learned'
3. (a)	*tanul vala*	'he learned'

Agreement

A characteristic feature of the Hungarian sentence is that syntagmatic relations are marked, if possible, on both members of the construction. The rules of agreement can be illustrated with the following schemes:

(a) The agreement between substantival subject and verbal predicate and between verbal predicate and definite object

(noun + subs. base) (verb + mod. suff.) (article) (noun + subs. base + cas. acc.)

Thus a noun (subs. pronoun) and its base suffixes (plural suffix, plural poss. ending) determine the person and number of the verbal personal ending, the type of verbal personal ending is determined by the objectival complement of the verb or its subs. base (possessive suffix).

Examples:	*én ad-ok*	'I give'
	te ad-sz	'you give'
	A fiú-k játsz-anak.	'The boys are playing.'
	Ő lát-ja a hegy-et.	'He sees the mountain.'

(b) Agreement in number between substantival subject and nominal predicate

noun + base suff.	noun + base suff.
noun + base suff.	adjective + plural suff.

Examples:	*A katoná-k férfi-ak.*	'Soldiers are men.'
	A ház-ak csinos-ak.	'Houses are pretty.'

(c) The congruence of noun (substantival pronoun) as genitive attribute and qualified noun

(noun + subs. base + case dat. poss.) + (subs. base)

Examples:	*az én könyv-em*	'my book'
	a te könyv-ed	'your book'
	a fiú-nak a könyv-e or *a fiú-Ø könyv-e*	'the boy's book'

In Old Hungarian:

a tanuló-k könyv-ük	'the students' book'.

Adjectival and numerical attributes are not in congruence with the modified word. This is a Uralic feature.

Examples:	*nagy ház-ak*	'big houses'
	öt könyv	'five books'

(d) Preverbs are often congruent with the case suffix of the substantival complement of the verb:

(preverb + verb) (noun + case suff.)

Examples:	*Be + megy a ház-ba.*	'He enters the house.'
	Rá+lép a fű-re.	'He steps onto the grass.'

(e) The demonstrative pronominal attribute agrees in case with the noun which it qualifies:

(dem. pronoun + case suff.) + (article) + (noun + case suff.)

Examples:	*az-t a könyve-t*	'that book'
	ab-ból a könyv-ből	'from that book'

This type of construction came into existence only after the definite article had developed.

(f) The personal ending of the infinitive forms a constituent with that part of the sentence which is in the dative and which is the logical subject:

(noun + dative) + (kell 'must') + (infinitive + personal ending)

Examples:	*Péter-nek kell menni-e.*	'Péter must go.'
	(Én) nekem kell menn-em.	'I must go.'

The result of such hypercharacterization arising from congruence is that one branch in the sentence need not be expressed. Such old synthetic expressions characteristic of Hungarian are:

Instead of	*Én megyek.: Megyek.*	'I go.'
,, ,,	*az én házam: házam*	'my house'
,, ,,	*Nekem kell mennem.: Kell mennem.*	'I must go.'

The Unity of Attributive Construction

The attributive construction forms a closed unit of word order. They precede the qualified word: the gen. attribute precedes the adjectival or participial attribute; the article and the modified noun bracket the adjectival

or participial attribute: 1. noun as gen. attribute 2. article 3. attribute 4. noun or attributive construction.

Examples: 1. *a városnak* 2. *a* 3. *legszebb* 4. *épülete*
'the[2] most beautiful[3] building[4] of the town[1]'
1. *barátomnak* 2. *az* 3. *elveszett* 4. *könyve*
'my brother's[1] lost[3] book[4]'

The Nominal Sentence and the Appropriate Attribute

Meaning and Sentence Pattern

In sentences with nominal predicate (sentences usually referred to as verbo-nominal because the predicate of this type of sentence belongs to one paradigm) the nominal part of the predicate is usually an adjective, often a noun and rarely a numeral. Pronouns corresponding to these categories may also be a predicate. The adjectival predicate indicates the property and quality of the subject, the substantival predicate signifies its class membership or its identity with some class or individual, and the numeral marks quantity or order. The types of meaning and the possible category involved in the nominal predicate have not changed essentially during the historical period of Hungarian.

Adjectival predicate: 1200: "Es oz gimilsnec vvl *keseruv uola* ('it was bitter') vize"; substantival predicate: 1200: *pur es chomuv uogmuc* ('we are dust and ashes'); 1300: "the werud hullothya *en iunhum olelothya*" ('the torpor of my heart'); numeral: 16th cent.: "Az könyörgés pedig vagy az esedezés *kettő* [kétféle]" ('two'); pronoun: 1200: "*Kic* ('who') ozvc?"; 14th cent.: "frater ferencz *olyan*" ('like').

An attribute may correspond to the adjectival predicate: *Ez az ember szegény.* 'This man is poor.' → *ez a szegény ember* 'this poor man' (cf. 1200: *ez scegin ember* . . .). Among substantival predicates common ones generally cannot be transformed into attributes, except for certain types including not too many words.

Names of professions are exceptions. These can be generally transformed into attributes but in these cases the qualified word and the corresponding subject are very limited according to the type of meaning and the type of complement. The subject and the qualified word means mostly actual sex: *Ezek a lányok apácák.* 'These girls are nuns.' → *Ezek az apáca lányok* . . . 'These nuns . . .' (cf. 14th cent.: *apacza lyanok*). *A fiam mérnök.* 'My son is an engineer.' → *A mérnök fiam* . . . 'My son who is an engineer. . . .' But the following sentences cannot be transformed into attributive constructions partly because the subject is a personal pronoun and partly because it has a complement: *Én mérnök vagyok.* 'I am an engineer.' *A fiam a vállalat vezető mérnöke.* 'My son is the first engineer of the factory.' Appositive constructions or clauses may correspond to these sentences: *Én, a mérnök* . . . 'I the engineer . . .' *Én, aki mérnök vagyok* . . . 'I who am an engi-

neer . . .' *A fiam, a vállalat vezető mérnöke* . . . 'My son the first engineer of the factory . . .' *A fiam, aki a vállalat vezető mérnöke* . . . 'My son who is the first engineer in the factory . . .' The appositive construction is always possible if the predicate is a noun; examples of apposition date back to 1200: "terumteve eleve *mív isemucut adamut*" ('our ancestor Adam'); 14th cent.: *en hugymnak, madaraczkaknak* 'to my sister, to the birdies'. The development of names consisting of two parts, the custom of giving a first name and a surname, paralleled the use of attributive constructions. Surname and first name can be considered as attribute and qualified word in Hungarian which is why the surname precedes the first name. In older texts the following can be read: *Az szegény halász Pétert* . . . 'The poor fisher Peter [Acc.] . . .' *Halász* 'fisherman' is an attribute here to which the predicate *fisher* corresponds: *Péter halász* 'Peter is a fisherman.' Attributes denoting professions gave rise to surnames denoting professions: *Halász Péter*. Other types of surnames developed in the same way. A more detailed discussion of this point is to be found in the chapter on proper names.

Sentences with proper names as predicates can generally be transformed into expounded forms like these: *Ez a kutya Bodri*. 'This dog is Bodri.' = *Ennek a kutyának neve Bodri*. 'The name of this dog is Bodri.' *Ez a folyó a Duna*. 'This river is the Danube.' = *Ennek a folyónak a neve Duna. Ez a város Budapest*. 'This city is Budapest.' = *Ennek a városnak a neve Budapest*.

The corresponding attributive construction is of two types: *a Bodri kutya* 'the dog Bodri', *a Bodri nevű kutya* 'the dog called Bodri'; *a Duna folyó, a Duna nevű folyó; Budapest városa, a Budapest nevű város*.

The combination with *nevű* is very frequent and was even more favoured formerly. Today it is used mostly if a proper name is preceded by the indefinite article: *egy Bodri nevű kutya* 'a dog called Bodri', *egy Kemence nevű patak* 'a brook called Kemence', *egy Domoszló nevű község* 'a village called Domoszló'.

The attributive use of names denoting measure is general but the rules for the use of the predicate form corresponding to these is more complex. Nouns denoting measure usually have numerical attributes: *öt kiló kenyér* 'five kilograms of bread', *húsz fok meleg* 'plus twenty degrees centigrade', *négy zsák hagyma* 'four bags of onions', *három méter szövet* 'three meters of material'.

The use of substantival attributes has decreased somewhat during the history of the Hungarian language. It has been partly replaced by adjectives with a suffix: formerly there were *titok dolog* 'secret thing', *kétkézháló* 'two-hand-net', *meggyszín szoknya* 'cherry-red skirt', *szem-fül emberek* 'eye-ear people', nowadays we would say: *titkos dolog* 'private thing', *két kezes (v. kézi) háló* 'net for two hands', *meggyszínű szoknya* 'cherry-red skirt', *szemfüles emberek* 'open-eyed people', partly tautological expressions like *tűz láng* 'fire flame', *tolvaj gyilkos* 'thief murderer', *kút forrás* 'well spring' which are quite frequent in the old language are going out of use.

The predicative use of the cardinal numerals is rare. Ordinals are more frequent in such positions, e.g., "Az ismerősöm a sorban *a második*" ('the second'); "a versenyben ő lett *a negyedik*" ('the fourth').

A characteristic feature of Hungarian is that the modal functions (tense, mood, person) of the sentence nominal predicate are expressed by an auxiliary. In the case of present indicative third person, singular and plural, however, the two members of the paradigm are Ø: *Apám orvos.* (= My father doctor.) 'My father is a doctor.' *Az ég kék.* (= The sky blue.) 'The sky is blue.' *Ezek bélyegek.* (= These stamps.) 'These are stamps.' The complete paradigm is then the following: *(Én) tanuló vagyok.* 'I am a student'. *(Mi) tanulók vagyunk.* 'We are students'. *(Te) tanuló vagy.* 'You are a student.' *(Ti) tanulók vagytok.* 'You are students.' *Ő tanuló* Ø. 'He is a student.' *Ők tanulók* Ø. 'They are students.' The paradigm is the same even when an adjective is employed: *(Én) egészséges vagyok.* 'I am healthy.' *(Mi) egészségesek vagyunk.* 'We are healthy.' *(Te) egészséges vagy.* 'You are healthy.' *(Ti) egészségesek vagytok.* 'You are healthy.' *Ő egészséges* Ø. 'He is healthy.' *Ők egészségesek* Ø. 'They are healthy.' The paradigm is complete if we take other tenses or moods, e.g., *Apám orvos volt.* 'My father was a doctor.' *Ő is egészséges lesz.* 'He too will be healthy.'

This construction is of Finno-Ugric provenance and it is characteristic of the whole history of the Hungarian language. In certain Finno-Ugric languages (and similarly in Russian) there is no auxiliary verb in any of the three persons of the present indicative.

Formerly the paradigm of the auxiliary verb was the following:

		indicative	conditional	imperative
state	present	Ø	*volna*	—
	past	*volt, vala*	*lett volna* *volt volna*	*lett légyen*
	future	*lesz, leend*	*lenne*	*legyen*
change in state	past	*lett, lőn* *lett vala*		
	future	*lesz, leend*		

The paradigm of the auxiliary verb is the following in the present-day language:

		indicative	conditional	imperative
state	present	Ø	*volna, lenne*	—
	past	*volt*	*lett volna*	—
	future	*lesz*	*lenne*	*legyen*
change in state	past	*lett*		
	future	*lesz*		

The more complex system of the old language corresponds to the old, more complex and rich paradigm of the verb.

In old Hungarian change in state was sometimes expressed by nouns with the translative suffix and non-nominal predicates: *tökéletessé lesz* 'it becomes

perfect', *tisztákká legyetek* 'become clean'. Likewise with the verb *marad* 'remain': *özveggyé marada* (today: *özvegy maradt*) 'she remained a widow'.

For expressing a change in state besides *lett* and *lesz* the verbs *vált* and *válik* required adverbials with a translative: *Vér nem válik vízzé.* 'Blood does not become water.' Today the word in the translative in construction with the verb *válik* is usually a noun. Formerly adjectives were also used in this way. At that time *vált* or *válik* stood for the verb *lett* or *lesz:* "A bőre *fehérré vált.*" (today: *fehér lett*) ('it became white'); "Az igaz *hamissá válik.*" (today: *hamis lesz*) ('it becomes false').

The content of the sentence *Blood does not turn into water* can be expressed in the following way too: *Vérből nem lesz víz.* = Out-of-blood not will-be water. Formerly the adverbial indicating the point of origin was also used with the verb *válik: Vérből nem válik víz.*

Sentence with the Verb *van* 'to be' and the Corresponding Attributive Construction

Vagyok (= (I) am), *voltam* (= (I) was) expressing existence differ sharply from the auxiliary *(I) am, (I) was*. These have a full paradigm including forms for the third person present singular and plural in the indicative: *van* (is), *vannak* (are).

1. The verb *is* means that something exists: 800 *méter magas hegy van.* 'There is an 800 meter high mountain.'

2. The verb *is* denotes existence not in itself but in its more precise delimitations. It asserts being something, somebody, somewhere (place), a time, a thing (material), an origin, a cause, a purpose, an accompanying item. Various attributive constructions correspond to these types of sentences:

(a) place: *A könyvem az asztalon van.* 'My book is on the table.' → *Az asztalon levő könyvem . . .* 'That book of mine which is on the table . . .' Formerly the participle *való* was used instead of *levő: Az asztalon való könyvem . . . A fák az út mellett vannak.* 'The trees are along the road.' → *Az út mellett levő fák . . .* 'The trees which are along the road . . .' 14th cent.: *tekente az vt melletualo nemy fakra.* Attributive constructions with the suffix *-i* have been substituted for the construction of *levő* or that of the former *való* ever since the language reform. *Az út mellett levő fák: Az út melletti fák. Alatti, mögötti, közötti, fölötti,* etc. have been formed in the same way. The parallel between *mellett való* and *melletti* still exists. In the 19th century the suffix *-i* also occurred after *case-endings* but usually not in uses corresponding to sentences with the copula:

A börtönben találkoztak. 'They met in prison'. → *A börtönbeni találkozás . . .* ~ *A börtönben való találkozás . . .* 'Their meeting in the prison . . .'. This was only a passing fashion though it increased the concise, synthetic means of expressions of the language.

(b) time: *A tanácskozás reggel volt.* 'The conference was in the morning.' → *A reggeli tanácskozás . . .* 'The conference in the morning . . .'

(c) material: *Ez a kerítés vasból való.* 'This fence is [made] of iron.' → *Ez a vasból levő (~ való) kerítés . . .; Ez a vaskerítés . . .* 'This iron fence . . .' In Hungarian as in other Finno-Ugric languages the name of material can stand in attributive function without any other formal means. — 1300: *uos scegegkel werethul* 'You are beaten with iron nails.'

(d) origin: *Ez az emlék a barátomtól van.* 'This souvenir is from my friend.' → *Ez a barátomtól való emlék . . .* 'This souvenir from my friend . . .'

(e) cause: *A víz áradása a hó miatt van.* 'The flood is due to snow'. → *A víznek a hó miatt való (~ hó miatti) áradása . . .* 'The flood due to snow . . .'

(f) purpose: *A büntetés a jó eredmény végett van.* 'Punishment is for the sake of good results.' → *A jó eredmény végett való büntetés . . .* 'The punishment which is for the sake of good results . . .'

(g) associate: *A lány a vőlegényével van.* 'The girl is with her fiance.' The corresponding attributive construction is mostly used in titles: *Lány a vőlegényével.* 'Girl with her fiance.'

Attributive equivalents of sentences with a copula without *való* or *levő* are often used as adverbials with attributive value. This construction has recently become widespread to a large extent under foreign influence as it is frequently used in Indo-European languages.

Place: *A Balatonon vihar van.* 'There is a storm on the Lake Balaton.'
→ *A vihar a Balatonon . . .* 'The storm on the Lake Balaton . . .'
Time: *A találkozás este volt.* 'The meeting took place in the evening.'
→ *A találkozás este . . .* 'The meeting in the evening . . .'
Origin: *A levél apámtól van.* 'The letter came from my father.'
→ *A levél apámtól . . .* 'The letter from my father . . .'
Cause: *A viszály az örökség miatt van.* 'The conflict is because of the inheritance.'
→ *A viszály az örökség miatt . . .* 'The conflict because of the inheritance . . .'
Purpose: *A harc a békéért van.* 'The struggle is for peace.'
→ *A harc a békéért . . .* 'The struggle for peace . . .'
Associate: *A gomba tojással van.* 'The mushroom is with eggs.'
→ *A gomba tojással . . .* 'Mushroom with eggs . . .'

As the examples show, such attributes always stand after the qualified word. They are widely used in chapter titles and in similar indications of subjects. In such cases they do not sound foreign, in other instances there is something unusual in their use, e.g., *Vihar a Balatonon. Találkozás este. Levél apámtól.* etc.

3. The use of the verb *van* in sentences expressing possession, *A lánynak van egy új gyűrűje.* 'The girl has a new ring.' presents a different problem. 14th cent.: *baratoknak vagyon regulaok.*

Many other languages have transitive verb of the *have*-class for this type of sentence. In old Hungarian and in the age of codexes a transitive verb, *vall*, was often used in such cases: 15th cent.: *veget nem val:* non habet finem (today: *nincs neki vége*).

In such sentences the verb *vall* often has a local meaning: 15th cent.: *arań ńakba vètọt val ọ ńakaban:* torqueam auream habebit in collo (today: *Arany nyaklánc van a nyakában.*). If place relation is expressed by *van* in these sentences and if a person is also to be indicated, the person is in the dative: *A rablónak éles kés van a kezében.* 'The robber has a sharp knife in his hand.'

Péternek új sál van a nyakában. 'Peter has a new scarf around his neck.' In this type of sentence there can be also a noun with a possessive suffix: *Péternek (az) új sálja van a nyakában. Van* in these sentences belongs to the former type. The adverbial of place can even be omitted in these sentences and the possessive construction is shifted to one of dative and subject: *Péternek új sálja van.* (= To Peter new scarf is.) 'Peter has got a new scarf.' This way *van* develops to express possession. The *van* which signifies possession can express other meaning relations besides the true relation of possession. (These will be discussed when talking about possessive construction.)

4. There is such a use of the verb *van* which fits in between types 1 and 2. *Most gyűlés van.* 'There is a meeting now.' *Tegnap szél volt.* 'It was windy yesterday.' *Ma hétfő van.* 'It is Monday today.' *Most nyár van.* 'It is summer now.'

The adverbial of time can easily be deleted from these sentences without the risk of ambiguity; the rest of the sentence will have a structure identical with those where *van* expresses existence. The difference comes out in the stress pattern of the two sentences: *Tavasz v a n.* 'Spring exists.' *T a v a s z van. (Most tavasz van.)* 'It is spring now.' The substantival subject of sentences like these is limited: it is either a word signifying time or weather or a noun implying action:

(a)	*késő*	'late'	*este*	'evening'	*tavasz*	'spring'	*hétfő*	'Monday'	
	korán	'early'	*reggel*	'morning'	*nyár*	'summer'	*kedd*	'Tuesday'	
	január	'January'							
	február	'February'							
	karácsony	'Christmas'	*öt*	*óra*	'5 o'clock'		*meleg*	'warm'	
	húsvét	'Easter'	*hat*	*óra*	'6 o'clock'		*hideg*	'cold'	
(b)	*silence, wind, noise, fire, meeting, war*								

Some languages use impersonal construction in these sentences: *es ist, es gibt* . . . Sentences in which *van* is emphatic and expresses not mere existence but temporal or spatial relations also belong here: *Kenyér v a n.* 'There is bread.' *Tej v a n.* 'There is milk' (i.e. at home or in the shop). There is a partitive meaning in these sentences.

The Verbal Sentence and the Non-Finite Forms of Verbs

Sentences without a Subject

Impersonal verbs (i.e. verbs without a subject in the nominative) in Hungarian as in other languages refer first of all to weather: *villámlik* 'it is lightning', *esik* 'it is raining', *havazik* 'it is snowing', *dörög* 'it is thundering', *fagy* 'it freezes', *virrad* 'it dawns'. Impersonal verbs with required case-inflection are not so frequent in Hungarian.

The subject can formally be missing from the sentence if it is indefinite or general: *Kopognak.* 'The door is being knocked at.' (literally: 'They are knocking.') *A postát már elvitték.* 'The mail has already been expedited.' *A boldogságot nem adják ingyen.* 'You cannot get happiness for nothing.'

There is no nominative subject in Hungarian in the case of partitive subjects; there are many examples of its form with the ending *-ban/-ben* until the 18th cent. 14th cent.: *sok vala ez mondott faban.* Today we would use a partitive with the ending *-ból/-ből: Sok volt az említett fából.* 'There was a lot of wood mentioned before.'

No nominative subject can be found with numerical adverb like *sokan* 'many', *kevesen* 'few', *öten* 'five', *tizen* 'ten'. 14th cent.: *gylekeznek hozzaya sokan* 'many gathered around him.' In these sentences the subject which is implied (*emberek* 'people') is missing.

It is generally characteristic of the Hungarian sentence that formally it often has no explicit subject, as the personal ending of the verb expresses the first and second person, or in the case of the third person form the context makes clear who or what this person is. *Tanulok* 'I learn.' *Mit csinálsz?* 'What are you doing?' It is only for the sake of emphasize or contrast that the first or second person subject is expressed: *Én tanulok (de te nem tanulsz).* 'It is me who is learning (but not you).' *Hát te mit csinálsz?* 'What are *you* doing?'

In older texts, under the influence of Latin, the personal pronoun is often used even when it is not emphatic.

In languages where the use of passive verbs is systematic and indefinite and general subjects are expressed in passive sentences, the object of the action is in the subject position. Thus, in these languages sentences without a subject are less frequent than in Hungarian.

Sentences with an Object

The Objective Relation. The noun in the accusative, as in many other languages can express external objects, something existing independently of action, toward which the action is directed: *Eszi az ebédet.* 'He has his dinner.' and internal object which is brought about during the process of action: *Készíti az ebédet.* 'He is preparing dinner.' The object can be concrete: *fát rak* 'he is piling up wood' and abstract: *bajt okoz* 'he causes trouble.' The action may perform a change on the object: *Dobja a követ.* 'He throws the stone.' *Festi a falat.* 'He paints the wall.' or may not: *Nézi a követ.* 'He looks at the stone.'

The change is either moving: *Viszi a táskát.* 'He carries the bag.' or not: *Megrakja a táskát könyvvel.* 'He fills the bag with books.' In the case of more abstract relations the distinction is more difficult. These distinctions are significant from the point of view of the transformation of sentences and are thus of a grammatical nature. The object can also express a local relation: *lakja a várost* 'he lives in town,' *járja az erdőt* 'he strolls the forest,' especially with verbs with a prefix: *megüli a lovat* 'he rides a horse' but chiefly only in locative meaning. The object can also express temporal relations: *Átaludt két napot.* 'He has slept for two days.' *Eltöltött egy hetet*

vidéken. 'He spent a week in the country.' But this type of use is far more limited than in many other languages, e.g.: *Egész télen meleg idő volt.* Всю зиму стояла теплая погода. 'The whole winter the weather stayed warm.' Likewise: *A következő évben megy iskolába.* 'He is going to school next year.' etc. The use of the accusative with certain verbs reflects Latin influence in the old Hungarian codexes: *felek vezedelmett:* periculum timeo, *kyt nem mehetuala altal:* quem transire non poterat. Today we would say: *félek a veszedelemtől* 'I am afraid of danger', *amin nem mehetett át* 'what he could not have gone through'.

The use of such sentences where the accusative object directly precedes the verb and has no article is characteristic of Hungarian. The noun in the role of the object is indefinite and it is indifferent from the point of view of number: *edényt mos* 'he washes up dishes', *leckét ír* 'he is doing (writing) his homework', *követ dob* 'he throws stones', *fát vág* 'he is chopping wood'. The condition of this use is that the intension of the verb be characteristic of the object. The action characteristic of a dish is washing, and that of homework is writing. But being seen is not characteristic of a house, nor is being pushed of a wall, nor is being beaten of a boy, therefore you cannot say without article: *ceruzát néz* 'he sees pencil', *falat tol* 'he pushes wall', *fiút üt* 'he beats boy'. In the case of the type *leckét ír* the object separates a specific kind of action from the others on the basis of social customs; it is expressed by the fact that there are compound forms corresponding to these objective structures: *edénymosás* 'dish washing,' *leckeírás* 'homework writing', *kődobás* 'stone throwing', *favágás* 'wood chopping' while *ceruzanézés* 'pencil seeing', *faltolás* 'wall pushing', *fiúütés* 'boy-beating' would not be good.

The object is bound from the point of view of word order in the use corresponding to the compound: it precedes the verb immediately and forms a close unit with it.

The main meaning of the transitive construction is, as we have seen, the action's being directed to something, more specifically, to the whole object. Sometimes objective endings alternate with lative endings: *néz valamit* 'he looks upon something' and *néz valamire* 'he looks at something', *figyel valamit* 'he watches for something' and *figyel valamire* 'he watches something', but not with verbs signifying motion. The relation of reality expressed by the construction with an objective ending can be understood in different ways. Therefore the use of the accusative differs from language to language, and it changed even during the history of the Hungarian language. In the age of the codexes *fél* 'he is afraid', *örül* 'he is pleased', *csudálkozik* 'he is surprised' governed the accusative — under the influence of Latin. Today only *fél valamitől, örül valaminek, csudálkozik valamin* exist. In other cases there were delative endings to be found in place of the present accusative: *a kötésről semmit nem érzett* (today: *a kötést egyáltalán nem érezte* 'he did not feel the bondage at all'); *csudál vala ő nagy szépségéről* (today: *csodálta az ő nagy szépségét* 'he admired her great beauty'); *és hogy gondol vala ez mondott felelésről* (today: *meggondolta a feleletet* or *elgondolkodott a feleleten* 'he considered the answer'). This is a good example of the role of the development and differentiation of the meaning of preverbs and the

role of the intransitive formant *-kod-ik* in the transitive-intransitive nature of the verb: these subtleties have gradually developed only from the 16th cent. on. Our old examples are taken from the 14th cent. and they are demonstrably Latinisms.

Preverbs play a great part in making verbs transitive in Hungarian. This can happen in two ways: 1. the form of the verb without a preverb can be transitive or intransitive, while the form with a preverb can only be transitive, e.g.: *segít valakit* or *valakinek* 'he helps somebody', but only *megsegít valakit* 'he helps somebody'; 2. the form without a preverb is intransitive and the form with a preverb is transitive: *rohan az ellenségre* 'runs against the enemy', but *megrohanja az ellenséget* 'he charges the enemy'; the development of the verbal form with an intransitive formant often gives rise to a contrast in which the verbal form with an intransitive formant and without a preverb stands in opposition to the verbal form with a transitive formant and a preverb: *közeledik a faluhoz* 'he approaches the village', *megközelíti a falut* 'he comes near the village'. In the age of codexes *közelít* was also used in an intransitive role: *közelít vala falukra* and *házhoz közelítene.*

The object noun can be definite or indefinite. The object is definite if its meaning refers to a definite individual or definite conceptual class; otherwise it is indefinite. The definiteness of the object is marked in the verbal form by means of specific personal endings, the so-called objective endings. The object is definite, if it is (a) a proper name, (b) a noun with a definite article, (c) a noun with a personal ending, or (d) a personal pronoun in the third person (*őt, őket*); the other pronouns if used as object take verbs in the subjective conjugation.

In old Hungarian, in the 13th—15th centuries the use of the definite article did not develop fully. Therefore in that age objective conjugation can also be found with substantival nouns without a definite article: 1300: *syrou aniath thekunched* 'look at his weeping mother'. Formerly the objective conjugation also occurred with relative pronouns: *kiket soha ki nem mondhatom.* Today forms in the subjective conjugation can be found with relative pronouns (*akit látsz, amit csinálsz, amelyet adsz*) in the same way as with the corresponding interrogative pronouns, *kit látsz? mit csinálsz?* But the relative pronoun *amelyiket* and the interrogative pronoun *melyiket?* as generally the pronouns and numerals ending in *-ik* (*mindegyik, némelyik, valamelyik, egyik, másik, második, tizedik*) require the objective conjugation. In objective clauses the verb signifying saying requires the objective conjugation; formerly it sometimes stood in the subjective conjugation: 14th cent.: "S mond: *kyk uattok ty?*" ('who are you?') (Today: *S mondja . . .*)

C o n s t r u c t i o n. The case ending of Hungarian in the objective construction is *-t*, but in certain constructions objects without an ending are used, although not as much as formerly. This is the case if the object is a noun with a possessive personal ending: beginning of the 14th cent.: *tegud (téged) lata. Add ide a kalapom! Add ide a kalapomat!* both forms exist today. The personal pronouns in an objective function (*engem* 'me', *téged* 'you') occur without an objective ending but the forms *engemet, tégedet* are rare.

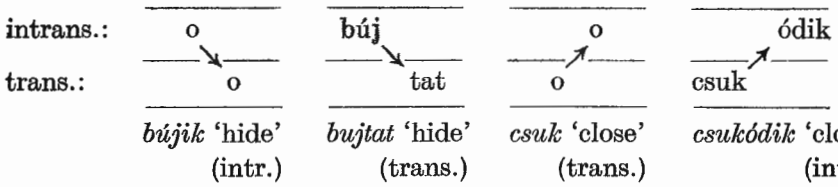
In the codexes, but also later, the object without an ending occurred first of all with non-finite forms of verb and less frequently with infinitives: *zerzet fogadni* (today: *szerzetet* ('order') *fogadni*), *viz mèreitèni* (today: *vizet* ('water') *meríteni*); *ǫ kǫntǫsǫ feluenni* (today: *ő köntösét* ('his gown') *felvenni*). Objects without an ending are very frequent with participles in compounds and other units: *pénzváltó* 'money-changer,' *adókérő, írásismerő ember, bálványalkotóknak városa.* The object without an ending deviates from present-day usage if the object is a word with a third person possessive personal suffix: *ő háza rakóval* (today: *ő házát rakóval*, i.e. *építővel*), *bűne szántnak* (today: *bűnét szántnak*). Formerly an object without an ending was used with an adverbial form of the verb mostly if it was the name of a part of the body: *feje hajtván, szája tátván.* Many of these appear today in such forms as: *szemlesütve* 'with eyes downcast,' *szájtátva* 'gaping,' *fogcsikorgatva* 'gnashing one's teeth.' In the age of codexes and later the gerundial construction of an object without an ending was used to translate the Latin ablative absolute: *ezek mondván:* his dictis; *ki hallván:* quo audito; *ajtó betevén:* clauso ostio. Later, these constructions became independent of Latin.

In participial constructions the object without an ending always stands before the participle.

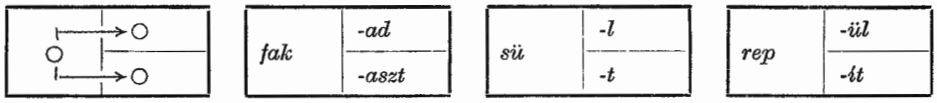
The Form and its History. According to the most probable hypothesis the use of *-t* as the mark of the object developed in the separate life of Hungarian from a determining element. At the beginning it showed only the definiteness of the object-word. Later, when the objective conjugation developed, the marking of definiteness shifted from the object-word to the verbal form, the element *-t* only had an objective function and as such it also spread to the indefinite object. The objective ending *-t* can be found in our early records: 1200: *adamut, archangelt* (today: *Ádámot, arkangyalt*). Its use spreads in the course of the whole history of Hungarian and the scope of the old original object without an ending constantly decreased.

The absence of *-t* in the words with possessive personal endings goes back to the period when *-t* denoted only definite object and the possessive personal ending could denote definiteness in itself, without a *-t: fogja a kezem.* The spread of the ending *-t* caused the repetition of the ending in certain sporadic cases and thus hypercharacterization was brought about. Thus *aztat* instead of *azt*, and *őtet* instead of *őt* are sometimes used in our dialects.

Transformations: genus verbi. — Relations of meaning. — The transitive verb can be made intransitive by means of formant and *vice versa.* Which form of the verb serves as the starting point depends on the basic meaning of each verbal root. Hungarian has a well-developed system of formants in both directions:



Some verbal roots are indeterminate in regard to transitivity:



fakad 'spring forth' *fakaszt* 'cause to spring forth' *sül, süt* 'bake' *repül, repít* 'fly'

szépül 'get prettier'
szépít 'beautify'

bátorodik 'take courage'
bátorít 'encourage'

In Hungarian, verbs of indeterminate transitivity are very rare. An example is *tart* transitive: *Az írószövetség gyűlést tartott.* 'The writers' Union held a meeting.'; intransitive: *A gyűlés egészen estig tarott.* 'The meeting lasted until evening.'

The suffixes of the intransitive verbs, called reflexive in 20th century Hungarian grammar, besides actual reflexivity (*mos-akodik* 'washes himself,' *fésül-ködik* 'combs himself') and mutuality (*ver-ekedik* 'fight', *egyez-kedik* 'negotiate'), have other roles highly characteristic of Hungarian and of other Finno-Ugric languages. One of these functions is nearly passive. (Formerly it was also called mediopassive.) It differs from the passive in that the action is regarded as if it were an independent action. Deverbal verbs belonging here are either such that there is a real passive element in the interpretation of the relation between stem and formant: *bemocskol-ódik* 'becomes dirty', *becsuk-ódik* 'closes' that is *valami bemocskolja* 'something makes it dirty', *becsukja* 'closes' or such that instead of the action coming from outside its coming from itself is felt but without being a real reflexive verb: *regenerál-ódik* 'regenerate', *felhalmoz-ódik* 'accumulate'.

Another function of the intransitive formant is to form active verbs. There are two shades here also. One of them occurs when the action is syntactically intransitive, as the accusative cannot occur with verbs like this, but, according to its meaning, the action of the verb is directed to some external thing: *rak* 'put': *rak-ódik* 'load,' *épít* 'build': *épít-kezik* 'have a house built,' *hurcol* 'drag': *hurcol-kodik* 'move'. In the other case there is

no outward effect, but rather some reflexive aspect in the meaning of the verb. This aspect characterizes first of all the birth of the verb, it comes to being in metaphorical use but this metaphorical interpretation is preserved in a vague form: *belopódzkodik* 'steals in', *furakodik* 'jostles', *vonakodik* 'is reluctant', *alkalmazkodik* 'conforms'.

Finally, still another function of the intransitive formant is to express an action that is directed outward. The verb consequently has an object which is expressed syntactically not by the accusative but some other case: *gondol-kodik valamin* 'thinking over something', *tudakol-ódik valami iránt* 'inquiring about something'.

We have a really productive formant in the first function only, *-ódik, -ődik: tör* 'breaks': *törődik* 'gets broken', in the same way: *nyomódik, adódik, taposódik, préselődik, indignálódik, asszimilálódik.*

When the mediopassive and active function is compared to the real passive verb (*iratik*), then sequences of derived verbs can be formed in such a way that they show the subtle shades of meaning from passive towards active:

intéz-tetik 'it is arranged'	*intéz-ődik* 'it gets arranged'	*intéz-kedik* 'he takes steps'
nekiüt-tetik 'it is made to hit against'	*nekiüt-ődik* 'it is hit against'	*nekiüt-közik* 'it bumps into'
tol-atik 'it is made to push'	*tol-ódik* 'it is pushed'	*tola-kodik* 'he bustles'

From adjectival stems:

erős-ít-tetik
'it is made to strengthen'
erős-ödik
'becomes stronger'
erős-ködik
'insists on'

Another sequence contrasts transitive and intransitive use, there the intransitive verb is active.

fenyeget 'threatens'	*fenyeget-ődzik* 'repeats his threats'	*dobál* 'throws'	*dobál-ódzik* 'keeps on throwing'
rendez 'arranges'	*rendez-kedik* 'makes arrangements'	*csúfol* 'derides'	*csúfol-ódik* 'mocks'

The syntactic function of transitive and intransitive formants is made clear by contrasting forms with and without formants in sentences.

Transitive formants:

Causative function: *Péter fogy a fürdéstől.* 'Peter loses weight by bathing.' *A fürdés fogy-aszt-ja Pétert.* 'Baths make Peter lose weight.'

Factitive function: *A lány mossa az edényt az anyja parancsára.* 'The girl washes up the dishes on the order of her mother.'

Az anya mos-at-ja az edényt a lányával. 'The mother makes her daughter wash the dishes.'

Intransitive formants:

Passive function: "*A tanár dícséri* ('the teacher praises') a tanulókat." "*A tanulók dicsér-tet-nek* ('the pupils are praised')a tanár által."

Mediopassive function: "*A sár bemocskolja* ('the mud makes dirty') a ruhát." "*A ruha bemocskol-ódik* ('the dress is made dirty') a sártól."

Active function: "*A csősz gyaláz* ('the park-keeper abuses') valakit." "*A csősz gyaláz-kodik.* ('The park-keeper uses abusive language.')"

Reflexive function: "*A vádlott védi magát.* 'The accused defends himself.'" "*A vádlott véd-ekezik.* 'The accused defends himself.'"

Reciprocal function: "*Péter és Pál veri egymást.* 'Peter and Paul are beating each other.'" "*Péter és Pál ver-eked-nek.* 'Peter and Paul are beating each other up.'"

Active case ending function: "*Az orvos szánja* ('the doctor pities') a beteget." "*Az orvos szán-akozik* ('the doctor feels pity') a betegen."

Adequate transformations are possible according to the productive rules in the case of transitive formants and the passive and mediopassive function only, while in the other cases the rule is very strictly confined to the individual verbs. The use in the passive function is now archaic.

Structure and Form. — (a) The use of transitive formants is more regular and more productive. The two main structural types are:

Stem	+ Formant		
intransitive	causitive	*sétál* 'walk'	+ *-tat* 'make sy walk'
Stem	+ Formant		
transitive	factitive	*ír* 'write'	+ *-at* 'make sy write'

(b) The essential element of the transitive formants is the Uralic *-t*. Other transitive formants occur only in exceptional cases. The formal system is thus more balanced and uniform in this case. The variants are: *-t*, *-at/-et*, *-aszt/-eszt*, *-ít*, *-jt*, *-lt*. The intransitive formants are formally more varied and their intransitive role which is secondary arose during a later period.

(c) The passive formants are (or, more correctly, were) also brought about by means of transitive formants with the *-t* element.

Stem	+ Formant		
transitive	passive	*ír* 'write'	+ *-at -ik* 'is being written'

(d) The following structure of the verbs formed with genus verbi formants can be considered an instance of productive word formation:

Stem	+ Formant	
transitive	intransitive	*bemocskol-ód-ik*

There is the following quite frequent but not productive type:

Root	+ Formant intransitive	*fak*	*-ad*
	+ Formant transitive		*-aszt*

The system of paradigms of the transitive-intransitive verbs in the 15th and 16th centuries was far more complex because quite often more formants followed one another. The following types serve as an example:

sétál-tat-tat	(causative	+ factitive)	
sétál-tat-tatik	(causative	+ passive)	
sétál-tat-ódik	(causative	+ intransitive)	
fak-aszt-at-tatik	(causative	+ factitive	+ passive)
fogy-at-koz-tat	(causative	+ intransitive	+ causative)
csal-at-koz-tat	(factitive	+ intransitive	+ causative)
mer-ül-tetik	(intransitive	+ passive)	

The simplification of the system of paradigms fits in the general tendency, in the course of which the use of formants decreased in the history of the Hungarian language.

The transitive formants contain an ancient Uralic causative formant which can be found in the first Hungarian linguistic records in a more original causative function: *terem-t, él-eszt: ill-et, iml-et, é-tet.*

The first instance of factitive function is *ír-tat* (today: *írat*) from the Jókai-kódex. Sometimes the formant lacked a causative function and often served only as a means of emphasis:

abrakoz-tat	'feed'
aggaszt-tat	'make sy worry about sg'
akadályoz-tat	'make hinder'
hány-tat (-ja a szarvát)	'make toss'

In the passive *-at-ik, -et-ik, -tat-ik, -tet-ik* the element *-t* is the causative formant, and the *-ik* is the personal ending of the verb. These two merge, in third person singular only, into the marker of the passive verb form, through a peculiar sentential revaluation of these constituents. In the sentence *Veretik a fiút.* there is a general subject. Thus the *-ik* loses its original function as a verbal personal ending in the plural and together with the causative formant it expresses passive voice. Likewise the accusative ending, which probably developed earlier than the passive conjugation, is omitted. It should be noticed that there are several passive forms of the verb in the Latin version of the *Halotti Beszéd* (Funeral Sermon) while there are none in the Hungarian paraphrase. As the translation of Latin texts grew to considerable proportions, the use of the passive form of the verb also grew. This new thrust of the passive form is partly counterbalanced by verbs with the formant *-ódik* which occurs in dialects as passive verb. In the different intransitive functions the formants *-kodik, -kozik, -ó(d)zik,* and *-ozik* are used, in mediopassive function recently the formant *-ódik*

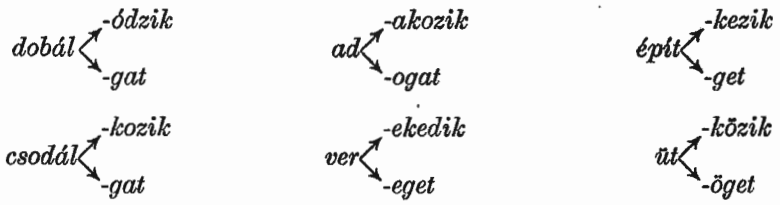
first of all. The particular forms of formants are distributed, if not completely consistently, according to the stem-final sound. Among denominal intransitive formants *-ul* was formerly more frequent than *-odik:* instead of *gonoszul* 'is naughty', *bátorul* 'takes courage', *megházasul* 'gets married' the forms with *-odik* are now used, *-ul* (formerly *-ol*) does not take *-ik* because it was originally probably a reflexive formant.

The other intransitive formants were originally frequentative formants. Their intransitive function was reinforced by the ending *-ik.*

The intransitive formants formally separated from the frequentatives during the age of codexes. This is shown by the language of the Bécsi Kódex. The ending *-ik* probably spreads from passive usage as the category of the most obviously intransitive verb.

Transitive frequentatives arose as a counterbalance of the tendency of frequentatives toward intransitivity.

The transitive frequentative formant *-gat/-get* developed from verbs with the frequentative formant *-g* and a causative formant *-t.* It was only rarely used in the age of codexes, but its productivity increased later; today it alone is used. The conditions which led to its development occur in such sets as: *foro-g : for-gat : for-dul : for-dít.* From these were separated stems like *for* and formants like *-gat, -dul* and *-dít.* As the result of the development of intransitive and transitive formants (intransitive formants are mostly of frequentative meaning), the language shows traces of the intransitive : transitive opposition in a common stem with frequentative formants:



The adaptation of the ending *-ik* as the mark of intransitivity, the wide use of the passive formants *-atik/-tatik* in medieval literature and in the official language before the 20th century, the increasing productivity of the formant *-ódik* in recent times — all these facts express the tendency toward a stronger transitive basis in Hungarian. This phenomenon is another example of Hungarian conforming to the European languages, it can be noticed in many other fields of the language. The difference between Hungarian and other European languages is in the degree in which the passive and the mediopassive are used.

The Use of the Dative

Among sentences with a dative those which also have an accusative are the most usual; e.g. with the verb *ad, mutat:* 1200: "*es odutta vola neki* ('and he was given') *paradisumut* ('the paradise') *hazóá*". *Mond* and its

synonyms generally take the dative: 1200: *munda neki elnie* 'he told him to live'.

But the dative has uses which are not so self-evident and may therefore reveal less similarity in the particular languages. In many languages the verbs *kell, szükséges, lehet, lehetséges* take the nominative: *I must go: Ich muß gehen.* In Hungarian they may take the dative: *Nekem mennem kell.* Russian also uses the dative more frequently than English or German, e.g. Мне не спиться. 'I cannot sleep'. In the use of the dative Hungarian stands between English and Russian. Like Russian, Hungarian uses the dative with the verb *örül (valaminek)* 'is pleased with something', *tetszik neki* 'likes it' and *sikerül (neki)* 'succeeds in something'. The following construction is very similar to the corresponding Russian construction: *A hallgatóknak nem akaródzott elmenni:* Слушателям не хотелось уходить 'The listeners did not wish to leave.'

In Hungarian the use of the dative (like the Latin dativus commodi et incommodi) is widespread: *neki hasznos, káros, kellemes, rossz valami* ('something is useful, harmful, pleasant, bad to him').

Furthermore, Hungarian has *kellemes, kellemetlen, érthető, érthetetlen valami valakinek* 'something is pleasant, unpleasant, comprehensible, incomprehensible to somebody'. In these roles, however, the dative was displaced by the more analytical construction with the postposition *számára.* Hungarian uses the dative in factive and predicative functions: *megtesz* 'appoints', *megválaszt* 'elects', *mond* 'says', *nevez* 'calls', *vél* 'considers', *talál* 'finds' *valakit, valamit valaminek, valamilyennek.* In the codexes, the infinitive form *lenni* is mostly to be found with the verbs of saying and knowing: 14th century: *monduan Az bizonsagot lenny hamossagnak:* dicentes ipsam veritatem esse falsitatem. In many other languages there is an accusative in this case.

With the verb *kell* the dative actually marks the logical subject. In old Hungarian dictionaries a similar use of the dative is very frequent: *megakadni a szekérnek* (= to bump for a cart); *ráesni az esőnek* (= for the rain to fall on it). Here the action is considered as abstracted from the factors of modality (person, tense, mood) by the infinitive and the subject of the verb is in the dative. The dative has another similar function in sentences like: *Nem könnyű elnöknek lenni.* 'It is not easy to be president.' *Nehéz őszintének lenni.* 'It is difficult to be sincere.' Here the noun in the dative stands in the same relation with *lenni* as the verbal part of the verbonominal predicate stands with its nominal part. With the verbs *marad* and *látszik* the role of the dative is similar: *Nehéz őszintének maradni.* 'It is difficult to remain sincere.' *Nehéz őszintének látszani.* 'It is difficult to look sincere.'

The Expression of the Relation of Adverb of Place

In Hungarian an almost perfectly regular system developed for local relations corresponding to the questions *hol?* ('where?'), *honnan?* ('where from?') and *hová?* ('where to?'), where each meaning has separate formal elements.

In addition to this, leaving some exceptions aside, the formal system corresponding to the particular meanings is clearly and very regularly proportioned. This means that the formal proportioning of morphemes corresponds to the meaning units consisting of meaning elements placed on the two axes of a coordinate. Therefore the Hungarian system of adverbs of place can serve as a pattern in the description of similar systems in other languages.

The system is illustrated by the following matrix:

		hol? 'where'	honnan? 'whence'	hová? 'whither'	
Close local relation	inner part	*-ben*	*-ből*	*-be*	endings
	upper part	*-n*	*-ról*	*-ra*	
	proximity	*-nál*	*-től*	*-hoz*	
Loose local relation	near part	*mellett*	*mellől*	*mellé*	postpositions
	lower part	*alatt*	*alól*	*alá*	
	upper part	*fölött*	*felül*	*fölé*	
	front part	*előtt*	*elől*	*elé*	
	back part	*mögött*	*mögül*	*mögé*	
	intermediate part	*között*	*közül*	*közé*	

the etymological system

	-tt	*-l*	*-á/-é*
bel	—	+	+
	—	+	+
	—	+	—
mell	+	+	+
al	+	+	+
föl	+	+	+
el	+	+	+
mög	+	+	+
köz	+	+	+

-tt, -l, -á/-é are ancient locative (Finno-Ugric), ablative (Ugric) and lative (Uralic) endings or their descendants.

The system is completed by a system of adverbs corresponding to the particular meanings where the structure of the particular units is: ending or postposition + personal ending; in more emphatic form: personal pronoun + ending or postposition + personal ending.

According to this, the following forms can be constructed with the ending *-ben:*

(én)benn-em	*(mi)benn-ünk*
(te)benn-ed	*(ti)benn-etek*
(ő)benn-e	*(ő)benn-ük*

The first person forms of the system of adverbs are the following:

benn-em	'in me',	*belől-em*	'from me',	*belé-m*	'into me'
rajt-am	'on me',	*ról-am*	'about me',	*reá-m*	'onto me'
nál-am	'with me',	*től-em*	'from me',	*hozz-á-m*	'to me'
mellett-em	'by me',	*mellől-em*	'from my side'	*mellé-m*	'to my side'
alatt-am	'under me',	*alól-am*	'from under me'	*alá-m*	'under me'
fölött-em	'above me',	*fölül-em*	'from above me',	*fölé-m*	'above me'
előtt-em	'before me',	*elől-em*	'from before me',	*elé-m*	'in front of me'
mögött-em	'behind me',	*mögül-em*	'from behind me',	*mögé-m*	'behind me'
között-em	'between me',	*közül-em*	'from between me',	*közé-m*	'between me'

The forms with personal ending in the system of adverbs preserve a more original state than suffixed forms because in the development of the latter simplification was a general tendency. Originally most endings were postpositions. While they changed into suffixes their form became simplified and shorter. In the case of postpositions the explanation is quite clear from the form as they clearly preserved the meaning elements placed on the two axes of the coordinate: a lower part +*-tt* locative suffix. The word *mell* (literally 'breast, chest') came to express a close local relation.

In the table of the etymological system the forms marked with a hyphen (—) require explanation. These can be found among the endings. Derivatives of the word *bél* meaning internal part also require explanation. Here adverbs with personal suffixes (*bennem, belőlem* and *belém*) show the original form more clearly. The other form of *ben* is *belen.* A likely hypothesis assigns the final *-n* to the locative, though another analogical explanation is also possible. The older form of *-ból/-ből* (i.e., *belől*) and even the corresponding form under vowel harmony can be found in our codexes. The original form *bele* of *be* also existed; *vilagbele* (1200) to which *világba* 'into the world' corresponds today.

The forms *-n, -ról/-ről* do not display a uniform origin, while the adverbs *rajtam, rólam, reám* do. Here the starting point must be a Ugric base word *raŋ*, the probable meaning of which was 'surface'. First a postposition de-

veloped out of independent words with endings, such as the suffixed forms of the word *bél;* then the postposition agglutinated into a suffix. The *Tihanyi Alapítólevél* (Foundation Charter of Tihany) from 1055 shows the form of the postposition without vowel harmony: *feheruuaru rea meneh hodu utu rea:* (modern: *Fehérvárra menő hadútig*) 'as far as the military road to Fehérvár.' The ending *n* is an ancient locative suffix.

The members of the line *-nál, -től, -hoz* developed from stems of different origin: *-nál* probably goes back to the Ugric word **na-* 'neighbourhood' or to the demonstrative pronoun *na; -től* is a descendent of the word *tő: -hoz* can be identified with the Ostyak postposition *χoz'a* which in turn is connected with a word meaning 'neighbourhood.'

The particular meanings in the system of local adverbs usually do not require explanation, each being clearly separated from the others. There is only one exception: the difference of the lines *-nál, -tól, -hoz* and *mellett, mellől, mellé.*

In certain concrete meanings there is no significant difference between them: *ül az asztalnál = ül az asztal mellett, leült a tűzhöz = leült a tűz mellé.* But in cases in which the local relation is not quite precise (though close) or cannot be quite precisely interpreted or it is more general and more figurative, the suffixes are used. Thus, in connection with persons: *Az orvosnál voltam.* 'I was at the doctor's.' is more than a mere local relation. An example of this latter: *Az orvos mellett voltam.* (e.g. in the theatre) 'I was next to the doctor.' *Nálam van a könyv.* 'The book is with me.' is a more general local relation than *mellettem van* 'it is next to me.' There is a similar difference between *Nálam aludt.* 'She slept at my house.' and *Mellettem aludt.* 'She slept next to me'. Cf.: *Nála lakik.* 'He lives with him.' (= in his flat) and *Mellette lakik.* 'He lives next door.' (= in the neighbouring house or flat). We can say: *A karjához ért.* 'He touched his arm.' because there is contact here, but we could not say: *A karja mellé ért.* 'He reached beside his arm.'

The use of the Hungarian local adverbs is characterized by such a form of seeming hypercharacterization according to which the local relation is marked twice within one structure: once with an ending and once with preverbs or adverbs also. The structure of such a sentence is the following:

Adverb or Preverb + verb + article + noun + adverbial suffix

Bent	*dolgozik*	*a*	*szobá-*	*ban.*	'He is working in there in the room.'
Be-	*megy*	*a*	*szobá-*	*ba.*	'He goes into the room.'
Rá-	*lép*	*a*	*lábá-*	*ra.*	'He steps on his foot.'

The following are the most frequently used adverbs and preverbs which play a part in repetition:

To the question *hol?* ('where')		To the question *hová?* ('where to')	
bent	'inside'	*be*	'in'
kint	'outside'	*ki*	'out'
lent	'down'	*le*	'down'
fent	'up'	*fel*	'up'
rajta	'on it'	*rá*	'onto it'

In many cases it is not its own counterpart that corresponds to the adverb and preverb as the following examples will show:

Kint dolgozik a kert-ben.	'He works *out in* the garden.'
Ki-megy a szobá-ból.	'He goes *out of* the room.'
Lent van az udvar-on.	'He is *down in* the garden.'
Le-megy az udvar-ra.	'He goes *down to* the garden.'

In these cases the formant attached to the verb and the case suffix of the noun has different meanings.

In the case of identical meaning the preverb and the adverb have an emphasizing or rhythmic role. The preverb also functions as the marker of the perfective aspect as a counterbalance to the role of the subject (by not appearing directly before the verb).

Transformations of the Verbal Sentence; Non-Finite Forms of the Verb

Meaning and use. The verbal sentence in Hungarian as in other languages can be transformed in such a way that the verb of the original sentences takes a non-finite form in the course of transformations. In Hungarian (1) the participle, (2) the verbadverb, (3) the gerund and (4) the infinitive belong to the non-finite forms.

1. In the use of participles simultaneity and antecedence (perhaps posteriority), as well as the aspect of the active and passive meaning relation are decisive.

The complete system would be the following:

	Active	Passive
Simultaneous	*alv-ó (fiú)*	*(hidegen) tarto-tt (étel)*
Antecedent	*tanul-t (ember)*	*vágo-tt (fa)*
Posterior	*jöv-endő (idő)*	*elad-andó (áru)*

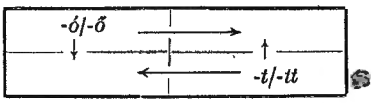
This system cannot be formed completely in the present-day language because its particular members are represented by some words only. This is particularly characteristic of posteriority. The use of posteriority was quite frequent in the old codexes (perhaps under the influence of Latin) and it resulted in sentences which today sound very odd, e.g.: *háromszor*

vagy megtagandó engemet: ter me es negaturus. But the productivity of the other members of the system is not identical either. The use is productive in the active simultaneous and passive antecedent categories, but it is considerably limited in the other two categories. In these other two categories the participial formants of the productive classes are used. The formant of the simultaneous active category *-ó/-ő* is sometimes used to express an active antecedent and sometimes a passive simultaneous meaning relation. In the same way the formant of the passive antecedent category *-t/-tt* is employed to express the other two meaning relations but in these cases the usage is very limited. This limitation is particularly conspicuous if Hungarian participles are compared to the Russian participles. The latter constitute an exact system in which forms correspond to meanings and the usage is regular in all the four classes.

Russian system

-щ	*-м*
-вщ	*-нн*

Hungarian system



(a) The expression of active simultaneous ending was and remained quite productive particularly with the formant *-ó/-ő: A fán madarak ülnek.* 'Birds are sitting on the tree.' → *A fán ülő madarak . . . csicseregnek.* 'Birds sitting on the tree . . . are twittering.' *A turisták társasága új kirándulást tervez.* 'The society of tourists is planning a new excursion.' → *Az új kirándulást tervező turisták társasága . . .* 'The society of tourists planning a new excursion . . .' *A vonat éppen indult.* 'The train was just leaving.' → "Egy gyerek ugrott le . . . *az éppen induló vonatról*" ('from the train just leaving').

Sometimes antecedence is also expressed by participles with the formant *-ó/-ő*, primarily contiguous antecedence: *A lovász gyorsan odaszaladt.* 'The horseman ran there quickly.' → *A gyorsan odaszaladó lovász . . .* 'The horseman running there quickly . . .' From the Müncheni Kódex: (*Őt megfeszítették.* 'He was crucified.' →) *És az ǫtèt megfèżeitǫc* = *És akik őt megfeszítették . . .* 'And those who crucified him . . .' The participles with *-ó/-ő* are also used in a passive sense. There are many examples of this, beginning with the codexes and up to the present but these are found only in compound words or in phrases. In these cases the participle signifies a customary action which modifies the noun: *szántóföld* 'arable land' = *föld, amelyet szántanak (szántani szoktak, szántásra való)* 'a land that is ploughed'; *lakóhely* 'dwelling place' = *hely, ahol laknak (hely, amely lakásra való)* 'a place for dwelling'; *szántóvas* 'plough iron' = *vas, amellyel szántani szoktak (amely szántásra való)* 'a piece of iron for ploughing'. In the Jordánszky-kódex are found: *megfizető nap* 'pay day' = *nap, amelyen fizetnek (fizetni szoktak, a fizetés napja).*

Thus the passive sense predominates and an objective relation is also involved here, e.g. *szántóföld* 'arable land', *ivóvíz* 'drinking-water', *vetőmag* 'seed-corn'. However, adverbial relations also play a role here, as in *lakóhely* 'dwelling place', *váróterem* 'waiting room', *tanulószoba* 'study room' (local); *húshagyókedd* 'Shrove Tuesday'; *kimenőnap* 'day-off', *hamvazó-*

szerda 'Ash Wednesday' (temporal) and *ütőszerszám* 'kitting instrument', *fedőlemez* 'covering plate', *favágó fejsze* 'felling axe' (instrumental).

Participles with separate subjects are wholly exceptional but very characteristically Finno-Ugric constructions. There are only a few old instances of this construction: *szamár forgató malom* = *olyan malom, amelyet szamár forgat* 'a mill which is made to turn by a donkey'; *víztekerő malom* = *olyan malom, amelyet a víz teker, hajt* 'a mill turned by water': today it is called *vízimalom; kecskerágófa* = *olyan fa, amelyet a kecske szokott rágni* 'a tree usually nibbled at by a goat', *baromjáró föld* = *olyan föld, amelyen a barom jár* 'a field in which cattle walks'; *vízálló tócsák* 'puddles in which water stands'; *kakasülő hely* = *olyan hely, amelyen a kakas ül* 'a place where the cock sits', *lábafájó ember* = *olyan ember, akinek a lába fáj* 'a man whose legs ache', *magva váló barack* = *olyan barack, amelynek a magva elválik* 'a peach whose stone separates (from the pulp)'.

In old Hungarian, especially under Latin influence, the participle with the formants *-ó/-ő* also occurred predicatively: *mend ozchuz iarov vogmuc* (1200) = *mind ahhoz járók vagyunk*, as we would say, or rather with a verb instead of the participle, *mind ahhoz járunk* 'we all are going there'. In the codexes the participle with predicative function also has adverbial and objectival complements: *te kègèlmès vag es megboɪato gonossagokat* (15th century): et ignoscens super malitia; today we would say: *te kegyelmes vagy, aki megbocsátja a gonoszságokat* (or: *és megbocsátod a gonoszságokat*). *ǫ ńèluec ɪalo ǫ zaiocban:* et lingua eorum fraudulenta in ore eorum.

The participle with the formants *-ó/-ő* can also be used in objective genitive construction but only when it expresses regular or repeated action: *Bámulója vagyok a te szépségednek.* = *Bámulom a te szépségedet.* 'I adore your beauty.' or if it expresses antecedent action which brought about or changed the state of the object referred to by the noun in the possessive genitive: *Én vagyok e mű alkotója.* 'I am the creator of this work.' = *Én alkottam e művet.* 'I have created this work.' *A kincs megtalálóját megjutalmazták.* 'The finder of the treasure was rewarded.' = *Megjutalmazták azt, aki a kincset megtalálta.* 'They rewarded the person who found the treasure.'

(b) The main function of the participle with the formants *-t/-tt* is to express the antecedent passive action and the state which results from of it. *A pénztáros megszámolta a pénzt.* 'The cashier counted the money.' → *A pénztáros a megszámolt pénzt eltette.* (= The cashier put away the counted money.) The participle is also used in an active sense, that is formed from an intransitive verb if the intransitive verb is mediopassive: *A kosár megtelt szeméttel.* 'The basket became filled with litter', *A szeméttel megtelt kosarat . . .* 'The basket filled with litter . . .' This participle is used only rarely with non-mediopassive intransitive verbs, e.g.: *Ez az ember messziről jött.* 'This man has come from far.' → *A messziről jött ember . . .* 'The man who has come from far . . .' The situation is similar to participles formed from transitive verbs: *Ez az ember sokat látott.* 'This man has seen much.' → *Ez a sokat látott ember . . .* 'This man who has seen much . . .' Finally, on very rare occasions this participle is also used with a simultaneous passive meaning: *A húst a jégszekrényben tartják . .* 'The meat is kept in the refrigerator.' → *A jégszekrényben tartott hús . . .* 'The meat kept in the refrigerator . . .'. The

participle with the formants *-t/-tt* in its main function of expressing passive simultaneousness is usually used with a preverb, e.g· *Megdarálták a mákot.* 'They ground the poppy-seed.' → *A megdarált mákot . . . a mama megcukrozta.* 'The mother spread sugar over the ground poppy-seed.' If, however, the participle is the sign of some phraseological unit, e.g., some kind of commercial article of food, the preverb is not used. We do not ask for *megdarált mák* in a shop but only for *darált mák.* Likewise: *főtt étel* 'cooked meal', *füstölt szalonna* 'smoked bacon', *reszelt sajt* 'grated cheese', *töltött paprika* 'stuffed paprika', *rakott káposzta* 'layer cabbage'.

The participles with the formant *-t/-tt* are likewise not used as predicates. Instead of them there is a specific structure in Hungarian, the auxiliary verb *van (volt)* and the verbadverb whose suffix is *-va/-ve.* This structure is usually formed from similar verbs as the participles with the formant *-t/-tt,* i.e. from transitive or mediopassive verbs, but in the case of transitive verbs there is another limitation, namely the action must perform a change on the object. Thus, *Megírták a levelet.* 'They have written the letter.' → *A levél meg van írva.* 'The letter has been written.' *Az asszony lefogyott.* 'The woman has lost weight.' → *Az asszony le van fogyva.* 'The woman is thin.' Here a characteristic feature of Hungarian asserts itself: a sentence with a participial predicate would formally coincide with a sentence with a verbal predicate: *Az asszony lefogyott.* This coincidence is characteristic of mediopassive verbs. The sentence *Megfigyelték az eseményt.* 'They observed the event.' can be transformed into *A megfigyelt. esemény . . .* 'The observed event . . .' but *Az esemény meg van figyelve.* 'The event is observed.' is not used, because there is no change in the object of the action.

The sentences *A levél meg van írva.* 'The letter is written.' and *Megírták a levelet.* 'The letter has been written.' are similarly impersonal, because in the latter sentence the verb *megírták* must be understood to take an indefinite object. Formerly, when the passive verb was in common use, the following was used instead of the above two sentences: *A levél megíratott.* 'The letter has been written.' According to usage, in certain situations there is no formal difference between the past perfect and the presentsperfect: *Tegnap megírták a levelet.* = *Tegnap megíratott a levél.* The past perfect is used here because of the adverb of time *tegnap* 'yesterday'. But in the sentences *Nézd, megírták a levelet.* or *Nézd, megíratott a levél.* the meaning of the verb forms can only be present perfect. In the old literary language the forms were differentiated in these cases, as the conjugation will show. The sentence *Meg van írva a levél.* is used in the present perfect function.

The literature of codexes witnessed the development of the paradigm *dicsértetett valék, valál, vala* (also with reversed order, *valék, valál, vala dicsértetett*) under the influence Latin *laudatus eram, eras, erat,* etc. Here *dicsértetett* is syntactically a passive participle and semantically a compound predicate. In the third person the passive conjugation and the participial construction coincided. The two paradigms have a common member here

dicsértettem vala	*dicsértetett valék*
dicsértettél vala	*dicsértetett valál*

dicsértetett vala

In this construction the participles have the same role in Hungarian as in Indo-European languages generally. *Dicsértetett valék, valál, vala* also appear without the passive formant (*-tet*) in the forms *dicsért valék, valál, vala* which also have predicative function. Since the participle is very near to the passive verb in this function it acquired a passive formant under the influence of the passive verb: *dicsért vala, dicsértetett vala.* The passive formant is widely used in other syntactic functions because it sharply separates the formally finite verb with an active sense from the participle with a passive sense which was homophonous with it: *Íme egy férfiú ruházott len ruhákkal.* In this sentence *ruházott* can be regarded as a finite verb while the form *ruhaztatot* (which occurs in the Bécsi Kódex) is unambiguous. The word comes from the translation of Latin "ecce, vir unus, vestitus lineis . . .".

The participle with a passive form cannot be found in our earlier glossaries, but it is widespread in dictionaries at the end of the 16th century; often both forms are listed: *melegített, melegíttetett* 'warmed', *levágott, levágatott fa* 'felled tree'.

As in the case of the participles with the formant *-ó/-ő*, participles with the formant *-t/-tt* participate in constructions in which the subject of the action content of the participle is present also in the nominative. The following is found in the Müncheni Kódex: *es ot vala eg kèze meg azot èmber:* et erat ibi homo habens manum aridam. . .

The corresponding text in the Jordánszky-kódex is: *es vala ot egy ember kynek hew kezee meg azot vala.* A peculiar construction can be found in the Bécsi Kódex: *Èlèicbè kèlec ǫnèkic mōnal kǫlkèy èlragadot nǫsten mèdue:* Occurram eis quasi ursa raptis catulis. (In the Bible translation by Káldi: *Eléjük megyek, mint a nősténymedve, melynek elragadták kölykeit.*) *Inaszakadt* 'hamstrung', *agyafúrt* 'crafty', *nyakatekert* 'complicated' remained in some lexicalized phrases. These exceptional vestiges in the language are remarkable because they may preserve the traces of an ancient, Finno-Ugric or perhaps Uralic sentence construction. *Szél fújta ág* 'branch blown by the wind', *hóhagyta földek* 'fields on which the snow has melted off'; even with a personal pronominal subject: *a kivágtam fa* 'the tree felled by me', are similar, and are productive up to a certain point even today. The more usual type of construction is now with a participle and an ablative or the postposition *által* (for the agent): *A szél fújta az ágat.* 'The wind blew the branch . . .' → *A szél által (széltől) fújt ág . . .* 'The branch blown by the wind . . .' *A hó elhagyta a földeket.* 'The snow left the fields.' → *A hótól elhagyott földek . . .* ' The fields left by the snow . . .' *Kivágtam a fát.* 'I felled the tree.' → *A tőlem (általam) kivágott fa . . .* 'The tree felled by me . . .'

2. The use of verbadverbs is very similar to that of participles. The main difference between them is that while the action content of the verbadverb is in close connection with the main verb of the sentence (reference of time, state, cause or mood) the action content of the participle stands in no such connection with the main verb, in spite of the fact that it has time reference and it can signify cause and state. For example, in the following sentence the participle states the cause of the action of the main verb: *A megijedt*

fiú leejtette a tányért. 'The startled boy dropped the plate.' The same sentence with a verbadverb reads as follows: *A fiú megijedvén leejtette a tányért.* 'Being startled, the boy dropped the plate.' A common initial phrase for both sentences is: *A fiú megijedt.* 'The boy was startled.' On the one hand, the use of the verbadverb is more limited than that of the participle; on the other, from the point of view of the actual segmentation of the sentence, it differs from the use of the participle.

The connection between these two non-finite forms of the verb is clearly shown by the fact that verbadverbs fit into the classificational frame characteristic of participles:

	active	passive
simultaneous	*-VA*	*-VA*
antecedent	*-VA* *-VÁN*	*-VA*

The parallel use of participles and verbadverbs is shown in the following table:

	active	passive
simultaneous	*A fán ülő madarak csicseregnek.* 'The birds sitting in the tree are twittering.' *A madarak a fán ülve csicseregnek.* 'The birds are twittering sitting in the tree.'	*A jégszekrényben tárolt hús eláll.* 'The meat kept in the refrigerator will keep.' *A hús a jégszekrényben tárolva eláll.* 'Meat will keep if in the refrigerator.'
antecedent	*A leszakadt tető maga alá temette a fiút.* 'The collapsing ceiling buried the boy [under itself].' *A tető leszakadván maga alá temette a fiút.* 'The ceiling collapsing buried the boy [under itself].'	*Egy pincébe zárt gyereket találtam.* 'I found a child locked in the cellar.' *Egy gyereket a pincébe zárva találtam.* 'I found a child locked in the cellar.'

In the medieval translations the participle, as well as the verbadverb, corresponds to the Latin participle. The translators generally chose between two non-finite forms instinctively and applied each in its proper place. Sometimes, however, they substituted the wrong forms and sometimes the use of a finite verb would have been better. For instance, the Latin

text *Erant autem in via ascendentes Jerosolymam;* and the Müncheni Kódex: *Valanac ke · a taneituañoc az vtban ihrlm̄be felmenǫc,* or the Jordánszky-kódex: *Valanak kedeegh az wton menwen Jerwsalemben.*

In the language of the 15th and 16th centuries the suffix *-ván/-vén* was generally used in all functions. Today this form exists only in an active antecedent function, but the case of clauses or constructions with participles or finite verbs is more frequent.

The verbadverb, as well as the participle, can have a separate subject. We find structures like this as early as 1200: *bírsagnop ivtua = a bírságnap (= ítéletnap) eljövén* . . . Similar constructions in our codexes are translations of the Latin ablative absolute, e.g., *De az lang elmenuen kezde losan oda menny:* Flamma vero recedente . . .

The verbadverb is interesting because of its specific features. It occurs more frequently only in some codexes, where its function is strictly limited, with an active function and mostly with the verbs *lát* 'see', *hall* 'hear', *lel* 'find', with an infinitive or with a separate subject instead of the accusative. In the Müncheni Kódex: *Es hallac . . . ǫtèt bèźellèttè.:* Et audierunt eum loquentem. In the Jordánszky-kódex: *Es hallak ewtet zolany.* With separate subject: *Azok evezettek kedég ő elaluék:* Et navigantibus illis, obdormivit.

The verbadverb with the endings *-ván/-vén* and *-va/-ve* formerly also occurred with a passive formant: *imtètuen almaban, mene galileanac videkibe:* admonitus in somnis secessit . . . *lelec . . . iaźolba vèttètuén:* invenit eum positum in praesepio.

3. Gerundial constructions which have the same value as a sentence have an important role in Hungarian sentence formation. Our oldest examples are of the gerunds with the formant *-t* (e.g. from 1200): *Hadlaua choltat: hallotta halálát:* 'he heard his death' (= *hallotta, hogy meg fog halni*). It very frequently occurs with an accusative ending instead of the infinitive in the 14th century. *Ne zegyenletek alamyznaert mentetteket:* nolite verecundari ire . . . Today the corresponding construction would contain an infinitive instead of the accusative: *Ne szégyeljetek alamizsnáért menni.* 'Do not feel ashamed of going begging.' The gerund with the formant *-t* also occurs with certain verbs later, e.g. in Arany János: *Várhatja Piroska Toldi megérkeztét.* 'Piroska may wait for Toldi's arriving.' Otherwise the gerund of the copula, *volta* is the most frequent and lasts the longest. The 14th century construction: *megmondotta vala Ew tarsy ott nem voltokban:* sociis . . . absentibus, corresponds to the modern constructions: *Az ügy kényes volta* . . . 'The delicate nature of the business . . .' *Tekintettel az idő előrehaladt voltára* . . . 'In view of the advanced hour . . .'

In the codexes, throughout the entire history of Hungarian, nouns with the formant *-ás/-és* are used instead of sentences. They occur as subject, object or adverb and especially frequently as adverbs of purpose and cause: *kyk ywnek mynekewnk latasonkra es tanwytasonkra;* qui veniunt ad nos visitandos et instruendos (14th century). Today: "*A munka elkészítéséhez* ('to accomplish the work') egy évre van szükség." "*Távol maradásom miatt* ('because of my absence') nem tartották meg a gyűlést." Formerly they were also used in other functions: *mendennek latasara és czudalattyara* 'while

everybody saw and admired [it]' (14th century); today: *miközben mindenki látta és csodálta.*

The gerundial form *csudálatjára* contains the formative *-at*. This seems to be older than the *-ás*. From 1300: *the werud hullothya en iunhum olelothya* 'the shedding of your blood makes my heart faint away.' This beautiful, succinct sentence would read *A te véred hullásától elalél az én szívem* in the modern language.

A specific feature of the gerund is its pers. suffix which allows it to express an action related to a person. In this case it can be considered as being derived from a sentence or as having the value of a sentence.

A noun with the formant *-ás/-és* but without a person marker merely expresses an abstract action and it is to be regarded as a verbal noun: *Szégyen a futás, de hasznos.* (= Flight is a shameful thing but useful.) 'He who fights and runs away may live to fight another day.' Person is not always marked by the personal suffix despite its existence and despite the fact that the content of the sentence must imply it. In *Nem félek a megbetegedéstől.* 'I'm not afraid of getting ill.' no personal suffix is used; while in *Nem félek a megbetegedésemtől.* 'I'm not afraid of my getting ill.' there is one. In the sentential paraphrase the verbal form has person: *Nem félek attól, hogy megbetegszem.* 'I'm not afraid of the possibility that I may get ill.' or: *Mindent előkészítettem az elutazáshoz.* 'I have prepared everything for the journey.' = *Mindent előkészítettem (ami szükséges) ahhoz, hogy elutazhassam.* 'I have prepared everything (that is necessary) for my leaving.'

4. The use of the infinitive is far more limited than in English or in many other European languages. The main uses of the Hungarian infinitive are:

1. With certain verbs, especially with *megy* 'go', *küld* 'send', *visz* 'bring', *ad* 'give', *kér* 'ask', it has the function of an adverb of purpose: *Menj ma az én szőllőmbe munkálkodnod:* Vade . . . operare (15th cent.); today: *A fiamat viszem sétálni. Hozzál vizet mosdani.*

2. The accusative with an infinitive occurs in Hungarian with the verbs *lát* 'see', *hall* 'hear', *érez* 'feel', *hagy* 'let', *enged* 'permit': *Látom a barátomat közeledni.* 'I see my friend approaching.' *Hagytam a gyereket beszélni.* 'I let the child speak.' In old Latin translations, however, the use of the accusative with an infinitive is also found with other verbs. These constructions seem ungrammatical today. For instance (14th cent.): *Akaryauala ewkewt . . . yoknak lenny:* volebat ipsos esse bonos; "Es mondomuala enmagamott *zegen embernek lenny*" ('to be a poor man'). In these cases the use of the dative with the infinitive *lenni* is characteristic of Hungarian.

3. The infinitive occurs as a subject with adjectival predicates: *Fürödni kellemes.* 'Bathing is pleasant.' *A versenyben győzni nehéz.* 'It is difficult to win in the competition.' *kemenuala neky azt hallany.* 'It was hard for him to hear.' (14th cent). In these sentences the logical predicate is in the dative or it would be in the dative if it were explicit. "A versenyben győzni *mindenkinek* ('for everybody') nehéz."; "A versenyben győzni *nekem* ('for me') *nehéz.*"

The possibility of substituting a clause in this type of sentence depends on certain conditions. Thus, in the following sentence from the Bécsi Kódex *Job ènnèkem meg halnom hog nē elnem.* 'It is better for me to die than to

live.' could also have the form: *Jobb énnekem, ha meghalok, mintha élek.*

The infinitive occurs as a subject or predicate even when the other part of the sentence is a substantival subject or predicate; e.g., in the Müncheni Kódex: *mikeppèn a sidocnac żokasok èltèmètnièc:* sicut mos est Judaeis sepelire; in the Apor-kódex: *En rezem . . . te tőruenedet őriznem.*

In the types mentioned the syntactic function of the infinitive has the value of a clause with the conjunction *hogy* 'that'. Clauses with the conjunction *hogy* are often more artificial than the infinitive.

4. The infinitive also occurs without being a substitute for a clause. In this case the infinitive has a more primary syntactic function.

With certain verbs the infinitive forms a syntactic and semantic unit: the infinitive expresses the main action content, and the main verb has only a modifying meaning. Such verbs can be transitive (*akar* 'want,' *tud* 'know', *szeret* 'like', *óhajt* 'wish', *próbál* 'try', *szégyell* 'is ashamed', *kezd* 'begin', *szokott* 'used to') or intransitive (*igyekszik* 'endeavour', *törekszik* 'strive', *erőlködik* 'struggle', *szándékozik* 'intend'). In this type of constructions the infinitive can usually not be replaced by a clause, and the subject of the main verb necessarily coincides with the logical subject of the infinitive. With the verbs *kell* and *illik* the logical subject if expressed, is in the dative. *El kell mennem.* 'I must go.' *Neki ezt meg kell csinálnia.* 'He must do this.'

Form and development. There are hypotheses of varying probality and sometimes contradictory opinions concerning the origin of the non-finite forms of the Hungarian verb.

1. The formant *-ó/-ő* is probably a descendant of the Uralic deverbal suffix *-k* perhaps of *-p* or *-η* which has cognates in the related languages. We must postulate an ancient Hungarian *γ* and *β* sound which merged with the preceding stem-final sound, thus forming a diphthong. This diphthong became a long vowel, which was subject to vowel harmony. The sound *γ* can be found in the earliest Hungarian fragmentary records with the spelling *γ* in Greek and with *h* in Latin, e.g.: *σαμταγ, azah, meneh,* the later form of which are: *szántó, aszó, menő.*

2. The participle formant *-t/-tt* is the descendant of the Uralic participial formant **-t/*-tt* which, in the last analysis, is identical with the noun-forming formant *-ät/-et, -t* and with the past ending of the finite form of the verb. The stem-final vowel also plays a role in the formal differentiation. In the nouns the open stem-final sound is generally found in the earliest records; the noun is *hullothya* (= hullatja) in the Marian Lament (1300) and *arulatia* in the Gyulafehérvár Glosses (14th century). The verb and the participle is *odut* in the Funeral Sermon (1200) and *mundut* in the Gyulafehérvár Glosses. It is in this way that the final difference between the noun and the participle-verb developed. Cf. the noun: *adat* 'giving, portion' with the participle *adott* 'given' and with the singular 3rd person past tense form *adott* 'he has given'. Later, the difference in the length of the formant (*-t* vs *-tt*) and stem-final vowel-height entered a mutual relationship.

The formal separation of the participle and the verb proceeded along two lines: a large group of verbs lost the stem-final vowel preceding *-t* in the finite form, while the participle often but not always kept it and took the 3rd person pers. suffix in *-ja/-je* form. Thus the original common participial-verbal form *adutta, fugutta* split into the finite forms *adta, fogta* and the participial forms *adottja, fogottja.* (The form without an ending has remained common until today: *adott.*)

The omission or retention of the stem-final vowel depended on the preceding vowel. First both verbs and participles ending in *z* lost their stem-final vowel: *szakadozt gyékének, én atyámnak átkoztai.* Today both are participles: *szakadozott* and *átkozott.* Thus the loss of the vowel after *z* was characteristic of one period only. Some of the verbs ending in *p, b, k, g, ď* and *d* also lost their stem-final vowel by the period of the codexes. This change, however, did not cover the participles. Thus, here the presence or absence of the vowel has a function-differentiating role: from the 14th to the 16th century the verb forms *adta, fogta, kapta, dobta* etc. contrast with the participial forms *adotta, fogottak, kapottat, dobottért, hagyottak.* The verbs ending in liquids and nasal *n* did not lose their stem-final vowel completely by the period of the codexes. Even in the Jókai-kódex we find the forms *felelet, nyeret, vonot* (today: *felelt, nyert, vont*) and the participial forms *emelet, kolczolot, furot, ygeret, keret* (today: *emelt, kulcsolt, fúrt, ígért, kért*). But already in this period verbal and participial forms without stem-final vowels are in the majority.

A new formal difference between the participle and the verb emerges only in the 16th century: the verb form has the personal ending *-a/-e*, and the participle the personal suffix *-ja/-je: választotta* vs. *választottja.*

It is not difficult to give a functional explanation of the common origin of the nomen acti, participle and verb described above. All the three are connected by the perfection of the action-happening.

3. The participle with the formant *-andó/-endő* is the descendant of the participial formant *-ó/-ő* of the future verb form with the formant *-and/-end.*

4. The most acceptable explanation of the formants *-va/-ve* and *-ván/-vén* is that the form *-va/-ve* is more original, where the element *-v* is identical with the participial formant *-ó/-ő.* Intervocalically, this regularly changed to *v.* The *-a/-e, -á/-é* was abbreviated from a lative ending. The element *-n* in *-ván/-vén* is a locative ending. It is not difficult to point out a common functional origin of the verbadverb and the participle; support for this can be found in the correspondence between the use of the two types of non-finite forms.

5. The verbadverb with the formant *-atta/-ette* can be considered a noun with the formant *-at/-et* followed by a formant frequent in adverbs of time *-ta/-te* which is preserved in the following adverbs: *naponta, telente, éjente, régente.*

6. There is no agreement on the origin of the *-ni* suffix of the infinitive. Most probably *-n* is a noun formant. There is no doubt that the *-i* was orig-

inally a lative ending. This explanation is suggested by one of the meanings of the infinitive (adverb of purpose).

7. A plausible hypothesis on the gerund formant *-ás/-és* is that its vowel element comes from a deverbal nomen formant *-i* and *-s* is also a formant: it is identical with the diminutive and nomen possessoris formant *-s*. Thus it would have a structure similar to deverbal adjectives like *nyúl* + *ó* + *s*, *csíp* + *ő* + *s*.

Forms with a personal suffix. A specific feature of Hungarian is that all of the non-finite forms can carry personal suffixes. But in the course of the history of Hungarian the different non-finite forms changed from the point of view of being able to take personal suffixes, and the role of the personal suffix on the particular non-finite forms is not identical either.

1. Participles get personal suffixes in genitive constructions. The participle with the formant *-ó/-ő* can be found in objective genitive construction (*a titok ismerője* 'one who knows the secret') and the participle with the formant *-t/-tt* can be found in subjective genitive construction (*az én választottam* 'one chosen by me'). There is no essential difference here between the old and the present language.

In constructions of the type *szél fújta ág* 'wind-blown branch' *fújta* is formally a verb with an objective personal ending. Sporadic forms with a possessive personal suffix occurred in the paradigm in the plural, parallel with endings of the objective conjugation:

-unk/-ünk	—	*-uk/-ük*
-tok/-tek/-tök	—	*-átok/-itek*
-uk/-ük	—	*-ák/-ék*

If the logical subject of the participle is in the plural and in the 3rd person, there is no concord in the usual construction: *méhek csinálta méz* 'honey made by bees.'

The situation is similar if the logical subject is the pronoun *magam* 'myself', *magad* 'yourself', etc.: *a magam sütötte kenyér* 'bread baked by myself', *a magad sütötte kenyér* 'bread baked by yourself', etc. Therefore this verb form with a clearly participial function can be formally regarded as a participial-verbal form considering the syntactic role of conjugation.

Structures of the type *szél fújta ág*, *guta ütötte ember* can be found in many Finno-Ugric languages, but in these languages the construction without personal ending like *gutaütött ember* is more general.

The double nature, verbal and nominal, of these constructions becomes clearer if the non-finite verb form which has a verbal role, on the one hand, and can be nomen agentis, nomen acti, and nomen actionis role, on the other, is taken into account. But as the past verb form with *-t* is a Hungarian product and the structures discussed above can be regarded as Finno-Ugric, the hypothesis is justified that the word in these structures originally had

the value of a noun, first without and later with a personal suffix. As the participles with a personal suffix formally coincided with verb forms in the objective conjugation, the linguistic instinct considered the participles to be verb forms, and later on verb forms in the objective conjugation which were formally different from participles were used. Parallel with the definite separation of the verb form and participle, the verb form became dominant in these constructions. Occasionally, however, forms in the subjective conjugation occurred in the plural which formally coincided with those with a possessive personal suffix, and on the other hand, in certain types, constructions without concord were used. This conflicts with the syntactic rules of the verb and is characteristic again of nouns which carry a personal suffix. Thus, if this structure is regarded in the context of a paradigm, we must observe the double nature of the form with the formant *-t* which is reminiscent of Finno-Ugric or Uralic.

2. The verbadverb with the formant *-va/-ve* usually had no personal ending in the course of the history of Hungarian, but in the Bécsi Kódex and Müncheni Kódex, forms in which it had a personal suffix were also used. The inflectional paradigm is the following in these two documents:

-vá	*-m*	*-vé*	*-m*
	-d		*-d*
	—		—
	-nk		*-nk*
	-tok		*-tek*
	-jok		*-jek*

It is odd that no verbadverb with an ending in the 3rd person singular occurs. If it did, it ought to have the forms *-vá* + *-ja*, *-vé* + *je*. The participle without a personal ending usually has the formant *-ván/-vén* in the codexes. The lack of the 3rd person ending is still a puzzle and permits us to posit several hypotheses.

As to the use of personal endings (which formally coincide with the possessive personal suffixes of the noun) two explanations can be given. Conjugation does not have the function of distinguishing meaning. But the predicative nature of the verbadverb is sometimes so manifest that it is joined to the main verb by conjunction, e.g. (15th century): es *foguā a leańnac kèzet. Es mōda neki:* Et tenens manum puellae ait illi. This predicative nature is especially strong in an adverbial role (adverb of time-antecedent and cause). The relatively independent value of the verbadverb could have a role in its getting personal endings similarly to the syntactically really independent verb. The other explanation which can be valid together with the former one is the stressing of the personal identity of the verbadverb and verb, a double marking also otherwise characteristic of Hungarian. The repetition in form in the following 15th century sentence is especially conspicuous: *Ne akariatok azert zorgalmazatosok lennètec mōduatok.*

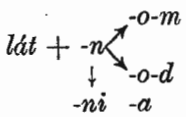
The verbadverb with the formant *-atta/-ette* which occurs in the Bécsi Kódex and Müncheni Kódex (and is very scarce in other records) always has a personal ending. It is no accident that the verbadverb with the formant *-va/-ve* and a personal ending can also be found in these records. As to its origin, the ending *-a/-e* in the third person singular is probably not a personal ending but was considered as such by linguistic instinct and was completed by corresponding endings in the other persons: *-m, -d, -tok/-tek, -ok/-ek.* We have no example for the form with the personal ending *nk.*

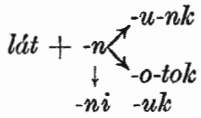
3. The nomen actionis with the formant *-ás/-és* in gerundial use generally has personal suffixes.

4. In the course of the history of Hungarian, as documented by records, the infinitive takes personal endings but the personal endings do not exist in all functions and where they exist their function changes in the course of the history of language. We find the infinitive in the Funeral Sermon four times and it has always personal endings: *élnie, oldania, kötnie, iktatnia.* The conjugation of the infinitive is far more widespread in the codexes than today because with modal verbs like *akar, tud* or in the role of the adverb of purpose the infinitive took personal endings with a subject in the first or second person; 14th century: *nem akaram mondanom, yewtem frater ylyeshez bezellenem;* 15th century: *mit mētètecki latnotoc.* After the period of the codexes the use of infinitives with a personal ending begins to go out of practice in the above functions. In the 19th century it essentially ceases to exist. The situation is different with impersonal verbs like *kell* 'must', *lehet* 'may'. In these cases the personal ending has a definite functional role since person is not marked on the verb. The marking of person is shifted to the dative by the verb *kell: Neked el kell menned. Neki el kell mennie.* In the codexes a personal ending was rarely used on the infinitive in such cases. Later this use spread parallel with a decrease in other functions. Today the regular forms are: *Neked el kell menned. Neki el kell mennie.*

The use of personal endings is especially justified from a functional point of view if there is no other element to mark the person, e.g. *El kell mennem.* 'I must go away.' *Adj innom.* 'Give (me) to drink.' In the latter example, neither the accusative nor the dative are expressed. In constructions of the type *akarom mondani* the reason for the use of personal endings *(akarom mondanom)* in older texts might be the fact that the main action was expressed by a non-finite form and thus its role is very near to that of the finite verb. In related languages and in sporadic data from old Hungarian the infinitive is also used as a finite verb. The other reason for the use of personal endings is the tendency toward agreement which was also mentioned as one of the reasons with the conjugation of the verbadverb. The principle of marking a certain relation on both members is generally characteristic of Hungarian.

The personal endings of the infinitive follow the form *-n* of the infinitive formative in the first and second person and the formant *-ni* in the case of the 3rd person:





The most two plausible explanations of the difference in the stem before the personal ending are the following: (1) At an early period the *-i* existed in the first and second person and this conformed to the vowel of the stem and got wider. (2) Before the forms with personal endings the second element of the infinitive formative, the lative ending was not originally present; only the noun-forming *-n* was present. The third person, *látnia*, developed through contamination: *látna* × *látni* = *látnia*.

As we have seen, the use of personal endings is characteristic of all the non-finite forms of the verb. Whatever may be the reason (functional, concord) for this conjugation, it is certain that the difference between finite and non-finite forms decreases by it and through this the Hungarian non-finite form finds its place in the tendency generally characteristic of the Finno-Ugric languages.

The Structure with a Possessive Attribute

Meaning and Sentence Pattern

The structure with a possessive attribute can come about from the transformation of nominal as well as verbal sentences and it includes types which have no corresponding sentence patterns. They express various meaning relations during the entire history of Hungarian, as in other languages.

Different meaning relations have different sentence patterns corresponding to them. But even if the corresponding sentence pattern is the same, meaning relations have distinguishing construction forms besides the structure with a possessive attribute.

1. Real possessive relation: The verb *van* 'have' expressing possession occurs in the sentence pattern *A fiúnak van táskája.* 'The boy has a bag.' → *A fiú táskája . . .* 'The boy's bag . . .' This meaning relation can be realized in a sentence pattern like *Ez a táska a fiú + é.* 'This bag is the boy's', which corresponds exactly to the sentence *Ez a fiú táskája.* 'This is the boy's bag.' According to the evidence of one of the examples, a Latin sentence of the latter type is translated into Hungarian by means of a sentence of the former type in the Jókai-kódex: Istud non est caput primogeniti mei: *ez few nem en elew (= első) fyame.* The construction type with the suffix *-é* is used in this type of meaning only and not in the following ones.

2. The part-whole relation. *Az elefántnak van agyara.* 'The elephant has tusks.' → *Az elefánt agyara . . .* 'The tusk of the elephant.' Here the corresponding compound is frequent: *elefántagyar* 'tusk of one elephant'.

3. Relation of function and role. *Az iskolának van orvosa.* 'The school has a doctor.' → *Az iskola orvosa . . .* 'The doctor of the school . . .' Here the form with the formant *-i* is frequent: *iskolai orvos* 'school doctor'.

4. The relation of proper name and the concept of class. Here there is a nominal substantival predicate in the sentence pattern: *Budapest város.* 'Budapest is a city.' → *Budapest városa* . . . 'The city of Budapest . . .' *A Balaton tó.* 'Balaton is a lake.' → *A Balaton tava* . . . 'The lake of the Balaton . . .'

5. Relation of property. There is an adjectival predicate in the sentence pattern: *A lány szép.* 'The girl is beautiful.' → *A lány szépsége* . . . 'The beauty of the girl . . .'

6. The relation of active action. There is a verb in the sentence pattern and the active subject of it will become a possessive attribute: *A szél fúj.* 'The wind blows.' → *A szél fújása* . . . 'The blowing of the wind . . .' The *van* meaning possession is only exceptional: *ennekem vagyon nagy syetesem:* Ego magnam festinentiam habeo (14th century).

7. The relation of passive action. There is a verb in the sentence pattern and the subject of the action will become a possessive attribute: *A levelet írják.* 'The letter is written.' → *A levél írása* . . . 'The writing of the letter . . .'

8. Relation of origin. The object plays the role of the possession in possessive construction in the sentence pattern. The form with the verb *van* meaning possession is also used. *A gyár füstöt csinál.* 'The factory creates smoke.'; *A gyárnak van füstje.* 'The factory has smoke.' → *A gyár füstje* . . . 'The smoke of the factory . . .'

9. The relation of group and its member. There is a verbal predicate signifying a group relation in the sentence pattern but here the form with the verb *van* signifying possession is also possible: *A hadsereg katonákból áll.* 'The army consists of soldiers.' *A hadseregnek (sok) katonája van.* 'The army has (many) soldiers.' → *A hadsereg katonái* . . . 'The soldiers of the army . . .'

10. Relation of time. The sentence contains a noun with an adverbial ending: *Ez a második nap januárban.* 'This is the second day in January.' → *Január második napja* . . . 'The second day of January . . .' → *Január második* . . . 'The second of January . . .'

11. Relation of measure. *A tej literje* . . . 'A litre of milk . . .' The sentence pattern is not used here. There is also a non-possessive attribute which corresponds in this type, viz., *Egy liter tej* . . . 'A litre of milk . . .'

The construction with a possessive attribute is not used in Hungarian when the quantifier is not the name of a unit of measure but of an object, e.g., *a glass of water; a mug of beer.* Substantival qualifying attributes can in this case be found in Hungarian: *egy pohár víz, egy korsó sör.*

The so-called qualitative genitive as in English *a person of great intellect, places of extreme beauty* is generally not used in Hungarian. The corresponding sentence form in Hungarian is the following: *Ennek az embernek nagy intelligenciája van.* 'This man has great/much intelligence.' *Ezeknek a helyeknek különös szépségük van.* 'These places have a unique beauty.' The attributive construction contains *-ú/-ű: Ez a nagy intelligenciájú ember* . . ., *Ezek a különös szépségű helyek* . . . Nevertheless, under foreign (Latin) influence, there are qualitative genitive constructions in the Hungarian codexes as well, and later, especially in literature: *irgalmasságnak atyja:* pater misericordiae; *isteni édességnek embere:* homo contemplationis [dei].

The use of the quantitative and partitive genitive is not regular in Hungarian: *puer novum annorum: a boy of nine: kilenc éves gyermek; two of the boys: a fiúk közül kettő; a great deal of work: sok munka; a pair of shoes: egy pár cipő.* But there are sporadic examples from the 14th century: *barátoknak bölcsi* 'the sages of the monks'; *a beszédnek egyenesse* 'the plainness of the speech'.

Constructions

There are two forms of the possessive attributive construction in Hungarian:

1. The poss. personal suffix marking the person of the possessor is on the possession (mostly the second member) and there is no formant on the possessor:

(A) + (B + y): *A fiú könyv-e* 'The book of the boy'

2. Both of the members are marked; the formant of the possessive attribute is on the possessor:

(A + x) + (B + y): *A fiú-nak a könyv-e*

In the Marian Lament they appear in structures following each other:

Vylag uilag-a; virag-nac uirag-a.

Structures with two marked members form the overwhelming majority in the Jókai-kódex and Bécsi Kódex. Recently the possessive attribute is more often without ending, especially if it is stressed and mostly if there is no other word between it and the possession: *a szoba négy sarka* 'the four corners of the room'. Today the relation is never marked on the first member ending *-nak/-nek: János (=* John's*) első dolgozatának címe* 'the title of John's first paper', but formerly the possession was sometimes marked even in this case: *hogy ellene állhassatok az ördögnek álnok ostrominak* (Bornemisza) (the second member takes the dative ending).

The first form dates back to 1055: *mortis uuasara kuta rea*, today: *Martos vásárának kútjára.* 'To the well of the market of Martos.' The second form goes back only to 1200: *halalnec halalaal holz.* The marking of the relation on both of its members makes it possible to change their order. In this case the possessive attribute requires an ending: *a széle az útnak* 'the edge of the road', *a színe a hajának* 'the colour of his hair'.

If the possession is a personal pronoun, the form of the possessive construction is the following:

Article + Pers. pronoun (in nom.) + possession + Personal suffix: Art + pron. + (A + y)

The nominative form of the personal pronoun must be stressed as a characteristic feature of Hungarian. In such cases possessive pronouns are generally used in other languages: *mein Buch, my book, mon livre, мая книга, meus liber.* It is characteristic of present-day Hungarian only that the use of the definite article is obligatory before a personal pronominal possession: *az én könyvem, a mi könyvünk.*

In the 3rd person singular and plural the singular pronoun is the possession. Thus the scheme of the pronominal possessive attributes with the obligatory article is the following:

az én	*a mi*
a te	*a ti*

az ő

During the period of codexes there was no article before personal pronouns (Jókai-kódex: *tyztelled te baratydot*). Likewise, the form with the possessive ending of the personal pronominal possessive attribute is characteristic of the same age: *ewnekyk nayassagokrol:* de conversione illorum; *mynekewnk ewrewkewnk:* hereditas nostras; *ty nektek alazatossagtokert:* propter humilitatem vestram. This pattern made it possible for the personal pronominal possessor to follow the possession: *sebyt ewnekyk:* vulnera eorum.

The personal pronoun *ő* appearing between the substantival possessive attribute and the possession was characteristic of the language even in the 16th century. In this way are brought about hypercharacteristic forms like *embernek az ő elméje* (Bornemisza).

In the modern language, the personal pronominal possessor is not expressed unless it is strongly stressed. In that case the possessive construction is concentrated in the possession with a personal suffix, and the personal suffix substitutes for the possessive attribute:

(A + y):	*a kalapom*	'my hat'	*a kalapod*	'your hat'
	a kalapunk	'our hat'	*a kalaptok*	'your hat'

The 3rd person form contains deictic or anaphoric reference with or without the expression of the personal pronominal possessor: *az (ő) órája* 'his watch', *az (ő) órájuk* 'their watch'. The context makes it clear whether a singular or plural of possessor is in question.

Form and its Development

The ending *-nak/-nek* of the possessive attribute was dative ending originally. It probably became the ending of the possessive attribute in a structure where the dative could be interpreted as genitive.

It was possible in structures where:

(a) There was a possessive relation between the noun with a dative ending and the object of the sentence with certain verbs:

Visszaadta → *a fiának a könyvét.* 'He gave his book back to his son.'
Elküldte → *a fiának a könyvét.* 'He sent his book to his son.'

Elkészítette a férjének az ebédjét. 'She cooked the dinner for her husband.'
Megbocsátotta az asszonynak a bűnét. 'He pardoned the woman her sin.'
Elhitte a fiúnak a meséjét. 'He believed the boy's story.'

(b) There was a possessive relation between the noun with dative ending and the subject of the sentence: *Fájt Péternek a lába.* 'Peter's leg was aching.' The development dative → genitive can be accounted for by pointing to the possessive dative construction with *van*. Thus the common meaning in the content of sentences like *Péternek van pénze.* 'Peter has money.' and *Péter pénze* 'Peter's money' could have the effect that *Péter pénze* took the pattern of *Péternek (a) pénze.*

The system of possessive personal suffixes postulated for the earlier period clearly shows an agglutinative structure which was brought about by adding the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronouns to the substantival stem.

In the case of a plural possessor the plural ending *-k* was also added: *mö, tö, sö,* + *-k*. The personal pronouns were subject to formal simplification and change. Thus *-t* became *-d* in the singular, but it was preserved in the plural; the element *-s* disappeared in the 3rd person.

The original paradigm is:

one possessor	several possessors
-m	*-m-k*
-t	*-t-k*
-vocal	*-vocal-k*

The Funeral Sermon preserves the more original form with *-m-k* in the first person plural: *uro-m-k* 'our lord', *ise-mü-k* 'our ancestor'.

The plurality of the possession is marked by *-i* which is a descendant of the Uralic plural suffix *-i*. This precedes the personal suffix: *feleym, bratym* (1200). In the 3rd person singular nothing marked the person after the *-i* marking the plurality of the possession: *kez-i, edény-i, ház-i, kapu-i.* In words with exclusively high front vowels the forms *kezi, edényi* coincided with the variants *kezi, edényi* of the forms *keze, edénye* meaning one possessor. Forms like *kezei, edényei* arose so as to differentiate several possessors. The same happened analogically in words with exclusively back vowels: *házai, falai.*

The sound *j* did not figure in the paradigm during the first centuries following the Conquest: in 1055 there were still *azaa* and *mezee* instead of *aszaja* and *mezeje.* The *j* spreads gradually, at first to stems with final vowels, then, gradually, to those with final consonants. It is found in first back-vowel words, in nouns with a final *t*, and in stems with a final consonant.

It is only from the end of the 16th century on that the variant *-je* spreads in front-vowel words.

The paradigm is the following in the Bécsi Kódex. The forms with *j* are relatively few after stem-final consonants and in the case of several possessions:

one possession

-m	*-nk*
-d	*-tok/-tek/-tök*
-a/-e-, -ja/-je, (-i)	*-ok/-ek/-ök, -jok/-jek/-jök*

several possessions

-i-m (-ai-m)	*-i-nk, (-ai-nk, ei-nk)*
-i-d (-ai-d)	*-i-tok, -i-tek (-ai-tok, -ei-tek)*
-i-ø (-ai/-ei, -jai)	*-ok/-ek/-ök, (-jok/-jek/-jök)*

A remarkable difference from today's usage is the use of the same suffixes in the case of several possessors to express one and several possessions. Thus, *hajójok* may mean one ship or several ships.

Thus, the present system of forms of the possessive personal suffixes is the following:

one possession

one possessor	several possessors
-m	*-nk*
-d	*-tok/-tek/-tök*
-a/-e, -ja/-je	*-uk/-ük, -juk/-jük*

several possessions

one possessor	several possessors
-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + -m	*-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + -nk*
-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + -d	*-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + -tok/-tek/-tök*
-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + ø	*-i, -ai/-ei, -jai/-jei + -k*

The use of the particular form variants depends on the end of the stem. The simplest type is represented by *hajó* 'ship':

hajó-m	'my ship'	*hajó-nk*	'our ship'
hajó-d	'your ship'	*hajó-tok*	'your ship'
hajó-ja	'his, her, its ship'	*hajó-juk*	'their ship'
hajó-i-m	'my ships'	*hajó-i-nk*	'our ships'
hajó-i-d	'your ships'	*hajó-i-tok*	'your ships'
hajó-i	'his, her, its ships'	*hajó-i-k*	'their ships'

Modality and its Means of Expression

Types of Sentences

One of the most important means of differentiating declarative, exclamatory, optative, imperative and interrogative sentences is intonation which cannot be investigated historically because of the absence of records which indicate intonation. Intonation has a particular role in sentences in which there is no other formal means of differentiation, as in exclamatory sentences without exclamatory particles and in interrogative sentences without interrogative words (yes or no questions). In the latter type of interrogative sentences the intonation rises at the end of the sentence. In yes or no questions the interrogative particle *-e* (perhaps of Uralic origin) is also used: *S nem*

szolga-e az? 'And is he not a servant?' This usage ranges from the codexes up to now. In this case the intonation is falling as in declarative sentences, and it is the interrogative word that marks interrogative function: *minem, nemdenem, minemde* (which arose from different combinations of the negative particle *nem*, the emphatic particle *de*, and interrogative pronoun *mi*.) Less frequently the disjunctive conjuction *avagy* was also used: *Avagy én vagyok-e az?* 'Is it I?' The interrogative word *vajon* came into existence later and is still used in yes or no and special questions: *Vajon eljön-e?* '(I wonder whether) he will come(?)' *Vajon mikor jön el?* 'When might he come?' In special questions the use of the interrogative particle *-e* is obligatory. (The stem of *vajon* is the stem *val* as it is found in the participle *val-ó* and in the auxiliary verb *vol-t* and *val-a*. The original form was *va-j-on* meaning *legyen*.) Thus *vajon* was a concessive particle which was originally joined to the question by a connective conjunction: *Vajon s mikor lészön jó Budában lakásom?* (Bornemisza) 'When, if ever, shall I have my dwellings in good Buda?' In special questions or other questions with a pronoun the function of the sentence is shown by the interrogative word. Consequently its intonation does not differ from that of a declarative sentence, thus it is falling, though under foreign influence there are examples of a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Special question can be found in the Funeral Sermon: *Kic ozvc?* (= Who are those?) As the interrogative pronoun is always emphatic, the rule of word order that the interrogative word is followed by the finite verb is valid here: *Ki* ('who') *írta meg* ('has written') *a levelet* ('the letter')?

The answer to a yes or no question in Hungarian is the repetition of that part of sentence which is in question, a pronoun or adverb standing for it, or the answering word *igen* 'yes':

A moziban voltál? 'Have you been to the cinema?'	*A moziban.* (= In the cinema.) *Ott.* (= There.) *Igen.* 'Yes'
Az igazgató telefonált? 'Did the director telephone?'	*Az igazgató.* (= The director.) *Az.* (or: *ő.*) (= He.) *Igen.* 'Yes.'

If the part of the sentence in question is a verb with a prefix, the prefix alone can be used to answer the question: *Elvitted a könyvet?* 'Have you taken the book away?' *El.* This type of answer rather than the use of *igen* is characteristic of Hungarian.

In the older language the fashion of answering words changes from century to century, with different adverbs alternating. After the 14th century *igenis* became more and more frequent. It was shortened to *igen* which became general after the age of language reform, though in certain dialects it is still not common. In the 18th century *úgy* was often the affirmative answer.

In indirect questions the conditional conjunction *ha* occurred earlier, perhaps under Latin influence, e.g. in the Jókai-kódex: *megkerde ewtett ha valamyt vallott wolna:* interrogavit si aliquid habuerat. The conjunction *ha* occurred in this function as late as the last century.

A negative answer is given to a negative question in Hungarian if the answer also has a negative sense: *Nem csináltad meg?* 'Have you not done it?' *Nem.*

The optative sentence which expresses the wish of the speaker is generally constructed with the optative words *bárcsak, bár* or *csak: Bárcsak eljönne!* 'I wish he would come.' *Bár sose születtem volna.*' 'I wish I had never been born.' *Csak szólna már!* 'I wish he would say something.' These optative words only emerge in the 16th cent.; formerly *vajha* and *vaj* were used. The verb is in the optative-conditional mood in optative sentences. A wish can also be expressed without optative words if the first person wishes his own action: *Enném!* 'I would eat.' *Elmennék!* 'I would go away!' As for content the way of expression with modal verb and infinitive is identical with it: *Szeretnék enni!* 'I would like to eat!'

The specific feature of the imperative sentence is the verb in the imperative mood. In popular speech and old texts the emphatic element *-sza/-sze* also occurs on the verb in the imperative mood:
Müncheni Kódex: *mutassatoczè ènnèkem az adopénżt.*

The Marking of Grammatical Person

One of the characteristic features of Hungarian is to express the first, second, and third person not only with pronouns and verbal personal endings but to mark personal relations on nouns, on endings and postpositions, and on non-finite forms of the verb. As the pronominal marking of person is always possible optionally, person marking can occur by means of (1) personal suffixes, or (2) pronoun personal suffixes.

The first (single marking) is not emphatic; the second (double) is emphatic.

1. verb with personal ending: *Olvasok.* pronoun + verb with personal ending: *Én olvasok.*	'I read'
2. noun with personal ending: *könyvem* pronoun + noun with personal ending: *az én könyvem*	'my book'
3. ending or postposition with personal ending: *nálam, előttem, énnálam.*	'with me'
pronoun + ending or postposition with personal ending: *énelőttem.*	'before me'
4. non-finite form with personal ending: *El kell mennem.* dative of pronoun + noun-finite form with personal ending: *Nekem el kell mennem.*	'I must go.'

This wide application of marking with personal endings is a Finno-Ugric characteristic of Hungarian and makes possible a succinct manner of expression and the differentiation of emphatic and non-emphatic forms. (The conjugation of non-finite verb forms will be dealt with in detail in the chapter on the verbal sentence.)

The above modes of marking person can be found in the earliest record (the Funeral Sermon):

Latiatuc	*tiv latiatuc*
uromc	*miv isemukut*
ketnie	*neki elnie*
erette	*tiv bennetuc*

Historically the forms *bennem, bennetek* must be considered as possessive constructions: *benn-em,* which corresponds to *szem-em.*

The expression of the pronoun during the history of the language was not merely a means of emphasis but a result of foreign influence. The European languages which were in contact with Hungarian had no nominal forms with personal suffixes: *liber meus, mein Buch: könyvem; pro nobis, für uns: értünk.* The foreign pattern with two words strengthened the two-word form in Hungarian. It does not refer to nominal expressions only, but also to the relation of pronominal subject and verb, and it often resulted in the superfluous expression of a pronominal subject.

The Expression of Time

In relating the content of the sentence to the time of speaking the most important factor is the tense suffix of the verb. Adverbs of time (*most* 'now', *ezelőtt* 'formerly', *ezután* 'hereafter', *majd* 'later on', etc.) and other adverbials also have a role in expressing time. A more exact notion of the use of the old Hungarian tenses can only be obtained from longer records. The codexes of the 15th century reveal a tense system which is rich by comparison with today's. At that time the following tenses were distinguished:

present	past: continuous	future: continuous	
	perfect	perfect	
	past connected with present		

This differentiation is not always perfect and varies from one document to another. In the codexes of the first Bible translation and in the Jókai-kódex the translators are relatively consistent in relating the mentioned differentiation of time to the Latin system of tenses and in expressing the formal differentiations of the latter by a difference in the Hungarian verb forms. The correspondence of Latin and Hungarian verb forms is, accordingly, the following:

pres. imperf.:	legit:	*olvas*
praet. imperf.:	ibat:	*megy vala*
fut. imperf.:	consistet:	*megáll*
pres. perf.:	iit:	*mene;* constitit: *megállt*
praet. perf.:	ierat:	*ment vala (ment volt)*
fut. perf.:	viderit:	*látand*

The most frequent past tense is of the type *mene* which is used especially in narrative texts in telling the particular phases of a sequence of events. This past tense expresses an action which has no connection with the present. As opposed to it, the action of a past tense of the type *elment, megállt* has results in the present and is therefore constructed from an instantaneous stem of a verb or from a verb made perfective by means of a prefix. The tense of the verb of the type *megy vala* expressed a past continuous action and was used to describe actions which were usual or recurrent in the past. Finally, *ment vala* and less frequently *ment volt* served to express actions in the past which preceded another action. This regularity in the use of the particular past tense forms was not always clear. The boundary between the function of *mene* and *ment*, especially, became indistinct. The differentiation of the two types of verb forms is undoubtedly an original Hungarian peculiarity as in Latin there is only one form for the two. The functional difference between the two forms is explained by the common origin of the tense suffix *-t* and the formant of the nomen acti.

In instantaneous or perfective verbs the future tense was expressed by means of the present-tense form. The future perfect tense was expressed by verb forms of the type *látand* 'seeing'. The future tense with *fog* developed only later: *menni fog* 'he will go'; this form can be found in the Jókai-kódex only in four cases.

The use of tenses, as we have seen, was connected with the types of aspect of the verb, its instantaneous-perfective or durative-iterative nature. Formation of the perfective with a preverb was not so widespread in the Middle Ages as it was later. In the old records many verb forms without a prefix can be found which would be used today with a preverb, as they mark perfect actions; from the 14th century: *az angyal . . . frater Bernaldnak yelenek* (today: *megjelent*); *mykeppen az ewrdewngewst zabadoytotta* (today: *megszabadította*).

Centuries later the difference between the four verb forms became less and less distinct. Grammarians, though definitely differentiating between them, do not uniformly identify the Hungarian verb forms with the corresponding Latin ones. This shows that in the spoken language the sharp differentiation was lost. In the codexes the past tense with the suffix *-a* or *-e* was very frequent as was *-t*, if speech was quoted.

Later, the past tense with *-t* became more and more widespread and the number of complex verb forms decreased. The difference between past tenses with *-t* and *-a/-e* was almost completely lost. Verb forms with the suffix *-and/-end* were rare in the 18th century. During the Language Reform period (19th century), the past imperfect and the future with *-and/-end* were revived but mostly in literature, as an elaborate stylistic device. In the second part of the 19th century verb tenses became more simplified and the past imperfect became less and less frequent. It went out of use during the present century. In this way the present-day verbal system was characterized by formal simplicity: present: Ø, past: *-t/-tt*, future: Ø; *fog* + . . . *ni*.

The simplification of the tense system went hand in hand with the development of time relations expressed by contrasting the instantaneous-per-

fect with the durative-iterative. Past-perfect and future-perfect tense are expressed by instantaneous-perfect verb forms (*elment; elmegy* 'has gone away', 'will go away') while present, past and future continuous are expressed by durative-iterative verb forms (*megy, ment* 'is going', 'was going'). The instantaneous-perfect verb form without a tense suffix serves to mark future tense: *megadja* 'will give it'. Because of the simplicity of these suffixes, adverbs have an important role in expressing tense: *írok — majd írok* 'I write' — 'I shall write'. Universally valid or usual actions are expressed by verb forms without a tense suffix: *A vándormadarak ősszel elköltöznek.* 'Migratory birds move away in autumn.' *Kéz kezet mos.* 'One good turn deserves another' (proverb). The future perfect can also be expressed by the past with *-t* but in that case an adverb of time helps in interpreting it as a future: *Ha majd kipihented magadat, csináld meg ezt.* 'Once you have rested, do this!' In narrative prose the historic present, the use of the present tense verb form to tell past events, is also used in Hungarian. To express a present state as a result of a past event, the past with *-t* is used with a perfect verb. In this case the meaning of the sentence corresponds to the meaning of a sentence containing a verbadverb: *Né, a búzát már learatták! Né, a búza már le van aratva!* 'Look, corn is reaped!' The interjection (*né*) makes it impossible to understand the sentence in such a way that the perfectness of the action of the verb form would refer to the past, as e.g. in this sentence: *A búzát két héttel ezelőtt learatták.* 'Corn had been reaped two weeks ago.'

Actual Analysis and Word Order

The significant features of Hungarian word order remain unchanged during the entire history of the language. There were, of course, smaller, unimportant changes but these had nothing to do with the fundamental principles of constructing a sentence. Hungarian word order can be characterized by two basic features.

1. In constructions forming a closer syntactic and semantic unit word order is regressive: the determinant part of speech stands first and it is followed by the syntactically principal member. This principle of word order keeps these constructions in a close unit and also has the characteristic of making of this structure an intonation unit which bears stress on its first member. (The only exception is the construction with definite and indefinite article.) This word order can be found in the following structure types: 1. Adjectival attribute and noun: *jó ember* 'good man'. — 2. Substantival possessive attribute and noun: *a ház teteje* 'the roof of the house' or *a háznak a teteje.* — 3. Particle and noun: *a ház* 'the house'; this is in connection with the word order rule of the attributive construction because the article was originally a demonstrative attribute. — 4. Noun and postposition: *a folyó mellett* 'by the river'; this is connected with the word-order rule of attributes, as the postpositional construction is originally a possessive con-

struction. In the codexes there are structures where the noun took a possessive attributive suffix: *szent ferencnek alatta, szabadságnak ellene, szülésének előtte, farkasnak eleibe, embernek felette, Krisztusnak felőle, prédikátoroknak közötte, lelkesek közibe, fáknak mellette, ördögöknek miatta, szent ferencnek utána.* — 5. Close verbal complement and verb: (a) object and verb: *fát vág* 'fells trees'; (b) adverb of manner and verb: *gyorsan megy* 'goes quickly'; (c) other adverb and verb: *iskolába jár* 'goes to school', *fáért megy* 'goes to fetch wood', *kedvtelésből tanul* 'learns for pleasure'; (d) preverb and verb: *bemegy* 'enters', *elszalad* 'runs away'; (e) verbadverb and verb: *kiegyenesedve jár* 'goes straightening his back', *félve mondja* 'says it shyly', *halva találja* 'finds it dead'. — 6. Noun or adjective and auxiliary verb in sentences with a nominal predicate: *meleg volt* 'it was warm', *katona vagyok* 'I am a soldier'. — 7. Negation and negated verb, noun or adjective: *nem tanul* '(he) does not learn', *nem katona* '(he) is not a soldier', *nem hideg* 'it is not cold'.

2. The second basic rule of word order is the following: the word-order structure of the Hungarian sentence is very flexible in adapting itself to the requirements of communication: it has nearly maximally developed means in distinguishing new or known, emphatic or non-emphatic part or parts by word order or stress in speech. This results in the fact that basically freedom is characteristic of the Hungarian word order; we can say that the Hungarian word order is free. This means that the word-order possibilities of a sentence nearly reach the possible maximum. Examples of word order permutations in a sentence of relatively simple structure:

1. *A fiam elküldte a könyvet a barátjának.*
   'My son sent the book to his friend.'
2. *Elküldte a könyvet a fiam a barátjának.*
3. *Elküldte a barátjának a fiam a könyvet.*
4. *A fiam a könyvet elküldte a barátjának.*
5. *A könyvet a fiam elküldte a barátjának.*
6. *Elküldte a fiam a könyvet a barátjának.*
7. *A könyvet elküldte a fiam a barátjának.*
8. *A f i a m küldte el a könyvet a barátjának.*
   'It was my son who sent the book to his friend.'
9. *A f i a m küldte el a barátjának a könyvet.*
10. *A könyvet a f i a m küldte el a barátjának.*
11. *A b a r á t j á n a k a f i a m küldte el a könyvet.*
    'To his friend my son sent the book.'
12. *E l k ü l d t e a könyvet a barátjának a fiam.*
    'My son did send the book to his friend.'
13. *E l k ü l d t e a barátjának a könyvet a fiam.*
14. *A könyvet a barátjának a fiam e l k ü l d t e.*
15. *A könyvet a barátjának e l k ü l d t e a fiam.*
16. *A fiam a könyvet a barátjának e l k ü l d t e.*
17. *A b a r á t j á n a k e l k ü l d t e a fiam a könyvet.*
18. *A k ö n y v e t küldte el a fiam a barátjának.*
    'It was the book that my son sent to his friend.'

19. *A fiam a barátjának a k ö n y v e t küldte el.*
20. *A fiam a k ö n y v e t küldte el a barátjának.*
21. *A b a r á t j á n a k a k ö n y v e t küldte el a fiam.*
22. *A b a r á t j á n a k küldte el a könyvet a fiam.*
'It was my friend to whom my son sent the book.'
23. *A fiam a könyvet a b a r á t j á n a k küldte el.*
24. *A fiam a b a r á t j á n a k küldte el a könyvet.*
25. *A k ö n y v e t a b a r á t j á n a k küldte el a fiam.*

All the possibilities have perhaps not been exploited. Variation in word order shows that many of the sequences can occur only to emphasize one of the parts of the sentence. From the point of view of actual analysis of contrast and of simple emphasis, the choice of word-order type is not indifferent. Thus, structurally free word order is somewhat bound from the point of view of the aim of communication.

3. The most characteristic feature of emphatic word order is that the emphatic part is immediately followed by the finite verb if the verbal predicate is not emphasized. In that case the preverb (if any) follows the verb: *A fát vitte el.* 'It was the wood that he carried away.'

It must be emphasized once more that the law of free word order means only freedom of structural possibilities but not random choice of possibilities for any purpose. It thus has an effect on regressive word-order restrictions. This appears in the fact that regressive constraints of close structures (for the purpose of certain communicational aims) may be replaced by progressive word order. This is made possible by the tendency of Hungarian to mark the structural relation on both members of the structure. Partly according to that it is possible to change regressive word order into progressive word order — with strong restrictions — in the following cases: 1. Instead of adjectival attribute + noun, noun and adjectival attribute (opposition): *Vettem neki csizmát, pirosat.* 'I have bought her boot(s), red ones.' — 2. Instead of substantival possessive attribute + noun, noun + substantival possessive attribute: *teteje a háznak* 'the roof of the house.' — 3. Instead of close verbal complement + verb, verb + close verbal complement: *Aludj csak, nyugodtan.* 'You may sleep, quietly.' *A fiú sokat tanul kedvtelésből.* 'The boy is studying a lot, for pleasure.' *Odaszólt hozzám, félve.* 'He told me something, shyly.' *Megy be.* 'He is going in.' *Szalad el.* 'He is running away.' — 4. Instead of noun or adjective + auxiliary verb, auxiliary verb + noun or adjective: *Tegnap volt meleg, nem ma.* 'Yesterday was warm, not today.' *Vagyok olyan legény, mint te.* 'I am (at least) as much of a man as you.'

4. The attributive use of nouns with adverbial endings or postposition in sentences or even in titles of the following type has a considerable role in the spread of progressive word order: "*A lány a piros ruhával* ('the girl with the red dress') nagy feltűnést keltett." — "Elbeszélte *ismeretségét a vadásszal* ('her acquaintance with the hunter')." — "*A kép a falon* ('the picture

on the wall') ferdén áll." — *Bevezetés a nyelvtudományba.* 'Introduction to linguistics.' *Szabadság a hó alatt.* 'Freedom under the snow'. The corresponding older construction contained the participle *való* and regressive word order. This is possible even today: *Elbeszélte a vadásszal való ismeretségét. A falon levő kép ferdén áll.* In titles *való* is less frequently used, e.g., *A nyelvtudományba való bevezetés* is less usual as a title than *Bevezetés a nyelvtudományba.*

Hungarian regressive word order was very stable in the old language. This can be clearly seen in the resistance of the medieval translations to the progressive word order of Latin texts. Verbadverbs and the adjectival and adverbial complements of the infinitives generally precede the non-finite form of the verb, though in Latin the opposite is frequently the case: *az aytot megnyttuan:* in aperiendo ostium, *okott adnya:* reddere rationem (14th century); *hamut èrèztuèn ǫ fèiekrè:* mittentes cinerem super capita sua; *kèzdec a nepèt onzollani:* coeperunt exhortari populum (15th century).

The subtle regularities which arise from the conventions of word order and emphasis are quite often violated by medieval translators. Thus in the Jókai-kódex the most important part of the sense of the sentence is not found before the verbal predicate. Contrary to the law of Hungarian word order, this sentence construction is generally the result of a word-for-word translation of the Latin text: *hyzem hogy ezeket yhlette neked vr iesus cristus:* credo quod hoc inspiravit vobis dominus jesus christus. Frequently, again under the influence of the Latin text, the auxiliary verb precedes the nominal part of the predicate: *nekyk volt ryuteteth:* quidam fuit raptus.

The Hungarian attributive construction forms a close sequential unit, and it is the regressive word order which dominates here. Consequently in Hungarian attributive constructions the cumulation of subordinate members is not so frequent as it is in those Indo-European (Latin, German and some Slavic) languages which had an effect on Hungarian. Hungarian tolerates complex constructions with possessive attributes less readily than the above languages which have progressive possessive word order. Therefore, the ability of participles to take complements is more limited in Hungarian. An alignment with Latin progressive word order is expressed by the fact that participles are often used as appositions in the 15th century codexes: *latanc memellet te nèuèdbè ǫrdǫǫket ki vètǫt:* vidimus quemdam in nomine tuo ejicientem daemonia; *èlhitètet galamb szùuèt nē vallo:* columba seducta non habens cor. In a later translation we find regressive word order: *tőrbe csalt értelmetlen galamb.*

Sentence Combinations

Coordinate Clauses

Connective sentences. The most ancient form of connective sentences is a mere juxtaposition of sentences without a conjunction: *terre azkappura, meg nyta az aytott* 'he went to the gate (and) opened the door' (14th century). This form of connective sentence still exists.

The oldest connective conjunction is *és;* its old form is *es*. The conjunctions *s* and *meg* have been known since the age of codexes. *Szintén* is of later origin. Its meaning was originally 'likewise' which is connected with the etymology of the word *szin* 'appearance.' The old meaning of *meg* is 'again'. The same word gave rise to the preverb *meg* 'also'.

If one negative sentence is connected to another, the pattern *sem . . . sem* or *nem . . . sem* was formerly found. Today only the forms *se nem . . . se nem* are used. Fourteenth century: *nem felel neky. Sem hozza mene.* 'He did not answer him (and) did not go up to him either.' Today: *Se nem felelt neki, se nem ment hozzá.* Another recent form, called the adding function, is: *Nem . . . (és/s) nem is . . .: Nem felelt neki (és/s) nem is ment hozzá.*

Adding was formerly indicated by the conjunction *es*. The Jókai-kódex preserves its form *is: zent ferencz megaluan meg alluala az kerestys.* Later, and even today, the more usual form of addition is . . . *és/s* ('and') . . . *is* ('also') . . . , or with parallel construction . . . *is* . . . *és/s* . . . *is* . . . *Tavaly itt volt, s az idén is eljön.* The simple conjunction *és* and the adding conjunction *is* were formally separated only later, but the process already began in the 15th century. The word *mind* 'all' developed into a paired connective conjunction in the 16th century in positions such as: *Mind a városokat, mind a falukat kifosztották.* Its original meaning is: *Az összes városokat és az összes falukat . . .* 'All the towns and all the villages . . .' Re-estimated meaning: *A városokat is és a falukat is . . .* 'Towns as well as villages . . .'.

Peculiar cases of addition are those in which addition is understood as contrast: *Nemcsak tavaly volt itt, hanem az idén is eljön.* 'Not only was he here last year but he will also come this year.'

The development of the pattern shows the following stages:

1200: *nem héon . . . de . . . Num heon muga nec. ge mend w foianec halalut evec.*
14th cent.: *nemcsak . . . de es; nemcsak . . . de . . . es*
16th cent.: *nemcsak . . . hanem . . . is*
nemcsak . . . de . . . is

The situation is similar today with the only difference that the role of *de* is even more limited in this function: *nem czak fewueknek gewkeret De es faknak kerget meg ezykuala* (14th cent.), *Nemcsak a füvek gyökerét, hanem a fák kérgét is megették* (20th cent.). 'Not only the root of weeds but also the bark of trees was eaten.'

The connective conjunction *sőt* 'even, in fact' with an older form *sőg* has an intensifying function. It developed from the combination of *es* + *meg*. If contrasted addition is substituted for intensifying connection then the former still preserves *még . . . is. Kibékültek, sőt szövetségre (is) léptek.* 'They made up with each other and in fact entered into alliance.' *Nemcsak kibékültek, hanem még szövetségre is léptek.* 'They not only made it up with each other but, what is more, they entered into alliance.'

Contrary sentences. In the construction of contrary sentences the combination without a conjunction is also the original one. Fourteenth century: *nem boczathattyauala ewket ketten ketten: myndenykyt kewlewn*

boczattyauala: non poterat illos binos mittere, sed unumqemque separatim misit.

There are two kinds of contrary sentences, one of which expresses contrast. (The content of both parts of contrast sentences can be true.) The conjunctions used are in the age of codexes, *kegyég, kedég* (a recent descendant of which is *pedig*); from the 16th century *viszont*, in the 18th cent. *ellenben* and *azonban. Viszont* belongs to the family of the word *vissza; ellenben* is an inflected form of *ellen* 'opposite', *azonban* is the descendant of the pronoun *az* with the formant *-n* and the ending *-ban;* it developed into contrary contrastive conjunction with the meaning 'while'. The conjunction *meg* is also used in this role today.

Én megyek, ő [*pedig* / *viszont* / *azonban* / *ellenben* / *meg*] *jön.* 'I go but he comes.'

Én megyek, de ő jön.

Contrasting is also possible with a connective conjunction: *Én megyek, s ő jön.* 'I go and he comes.'

The other main function of contrary sentences is exclusive contrast. Its old conjunction is *de*, and from the 16th century on, *hanem*. Here the first sentence is always negative or prohibitive: *Nem utazom el, hanem itthon maradok.* 'I am not leaving but staying at home.' *Ne utazz el, hanem maradj itthon!* 'Do not leave but stay at home!' *Hanem* developed from the combination of the conditional conjunction *ha* + the negative word *nem* originally in situations like this: *Senki más nem csinálja meg, ha nem én.* 'Nobody else makes it if not me.' After the revaluation: *Nem más csinálja meg, hanem én.* 'It is not anybody else who makes it but me.'

D i s j u n c t i v e s e n t e n c e s. Disjunctive sentences are combined with the conjunction *vagy* 'or' throughout the history of the language. The form of *vagy* was formerly *avagy, ovogy. Vagy* comes from the old *val, vag* form of the verb, and the *o, a*, in the old forms *ovogy, avagy* is a demonstrative pronominal stem, cf. *o—tt, o—ly, o—da.* The syntactic situation in which it developed into a conjunction can be understood if the following two sentences are compared: *Van (úgy), hogy elmegyek, van (úgy), hogy itthon maradok.* 'Maybe I shall go away; maybe I shall stay at home.' *Vagy elmegyek, vagy itthon maradok.* 'Either I go away or stay at home.'

The pattern of another type of disjunctive sentence is: *Akár . . . akár . . . Akár elmegyek, akár itthon maradok, nem érzem jól magamat.* 'I do not feel well either when going away or when staying at home.' This is also an old conjunction, it was used already in the age of codexes. Presumably it is the descendant of the verb *akar*. The above sentence can be said in the following way also: *Ha akarod (akarod?) elmegyek, ha akarod (akarod?) itthon maradok, nem érzem jól magamat.* 'If you wish (do you wish?) I go away; if you wish (do you wish?) I stay at home, I do not feel well.'

Sentence Types Expressing Causality. Among sentence types expressing causality there are coordinate and subordinate ones and there is no sharp difference between them. They are connected not only historically but also according to the present state of language which is well illustrated by the following list. According to it, the same causal relation may have the most different forms.

1. *Nagy a hőség, a fű kiszáradt.* 'It is very hot; the grass withered.' (Coordination without conjunction.) *Vendégek jöttek, nem mentem el hazulról.* 'Guests came, I did not go away from home.'

2. *Nagy a hőség,* { *ezért* / *ennél fogva* / *tehát* } ('therefore') *a fű kiszáradt.*

Vendégek jöttek, { *így* / *így azután* } ('thus') *nem mentem el hazulról.* (Conclusive sentence.)

3. *Nagy a hőség, úgyhogy* ('so') *a fű kiszáradt. Vendégek jöttek, úgyhogy nem mentem el hazulról.* (Consecutive sentence of coordinate nature.)

There is a pointing word in the main clause of a real consecutive sentence: *Olyan nagy a hőség, hogy a fű kiszáradt.* 'It is so hot that the grass has withered.' *Olyan kedves vendégek jöttek, hogy nem mentem el hazulról.* 'The guests who came were so pleasent that I did not go away from home.'

4. { *Mivelhogy* / *Minthogy* / *Mert* } ('As') *nagy a hőség, a fű kiszáradt.* *vendégek jöttek, nem mentem el hazulról.* (Causal clause in front.)

5. *A fű kiszáradt, ugyanis* ('for') *nagy a hőség.* (Explanatory sentence.) *Nem mentem el hazulról, ugyanis* ('for') *vendégek jöttek.*

6. *A fű kiszáradt, mert* ('because') *nagy a hőség. Nem mentem el hazulról, mert vendégek jöttek.* (Clause of adverb of cause behind.)

7. *A fű amiatt* ('for that reason') *száradt ki, hogy (mert)* ('because') *nagy a hőség. Amiatt* ('for that reason') *nem mentem el hazulról, hogy vendégek jöttek.* (Clause of adverb of cause, deictic in the main clause.)

8. *Azért* ('for that reason') *száradt ki a fű, mert* ('because') *nagy a hőség. Azért* ('for that reason') *nem mentem el hazulról, mert* ('because') *vendégek jöttek.* (Clause of adverb of cause, with a deictic in the main clause.)

The conditional clause also expresses a causal relation; in that case the causal relation is of general validity: *Ha* ('if') *nagy a hőség, a fű kiszárad. Ha* ('if') *vendégek jönnek, nem megyek el hazulról.*

Causal relation is the particular realization of general validity being present in a conditional relation. But if the concrete event contradicts the

general experience which is expressed in the conditional relation, then this contradiction is expressed by a concessive clause which represents a non-expected consequence. Related to it is a type of contrary sentences: *Nagy a hőség*, a *fű m é g s e m* ('still not') *száradt ki. Vendégek jöttek, m é g i s* ('nevertheless') *elmentem hazulról.* (Contrary sentence.)

N o h a *Á m b á r* *J ó l l e h e t* *B á r*	('though')	*nagy a hőség, a fű m é g s e m száradt ki.* *vendégek jöttek, én m é g i s elmentem hazulról.* (Concessive clause stands first.)

A fű nem száradt ki, p e d i g ('though') *nagy a hőség. Elmentem hazulról, p e d i g* ('though') *vendégek jöttek.* (Contrary sentence.) *A fű nem száradt ki, h o l o t t* ('although') *nagy a hőség. Elmentem hazulról, h o l o t t* ('although') *vendégek jöttek.* (Concessive clause stands second.)

The most typical conjunction expressing cause, *mert*, developed from combining the pronoun *mi* (which is found in *valami, miatt, ami*) and the ending *-ért*. In older texts it can be found in more archaic forms such as *Myert . . . nem engedele Azert paranczolok neked.* (14th century.) *Mivel, mivelhogy*, and *minthogy* spread only later.

The relationship of the concessive clause to contrary and conditional sentences explains the fact that the conjunctions of the latter sentences became concessive conjunctions: *pedig, ha (noha = no + ha)*. The contradiction is of a concessive nature if the conjunction *de* is used: *Nagy a hőség, d e a fű nem száradt ki.* 'It is extremely hot, but the grass did not wither.' In 1200 we already find *Hadlaua choltat . . . , ge feledeve. Jóllehet* 'though' was originally a separate sentence: *Jól lehet hogy . . .* 'it may well be that'. . . This consists of the words *jól* ('well') and *lehet* ('may be') and originally expressed concessions lexically. *Holott* and *pedig* became concessive conjunctions during the age of printing. Later longer periphrastic concessive conjunctions also developed: *azérthogy, mindamellett, annak ellenére hogy.* The concessive use of the conjunction *holott* only spread in the 17th century. Originally it was a conjunction formed from the adverb of place and acquired a concessive sense in the function of the adverb of time. The connection of time, conditionality and cause needs no further clarification.

Tehát originally meant 'then'; it was also an adverb of time and was in this way developed into the conjunction of conclusive sentence.

A more succinct way of expressing the causal relation is to indicate the cause by means of an adverb of cause. In this case a construction with a gerund or verbadverb is substituted for the separate sentence pattern, but the use of these constructions is rather limited as compared to that of clauses.

Subordinate Clauses

The following main types of subordinate clauses will be presented on the basis of their semantic (and thus syntactic) relation with the main clause.

R e l a t i v e C l a u s e s. In these the main and the subordinate clauses share an unnamed substantival member: this member is replaced by a rela-

tive pronoun in the subordinate clause and a demonstrative pronoun as a pointing word in the main clause, but this latter may be omitted. The two pronouns play a definite part-of-sentence role in the two clauses, being in subordinate relation, but this part-of-sentence role is not necessarily the same. On the contrary, it is quite often different.

The part-of-sentence role is identical: *K i* ('who') *korán kel, (a z) aranyat lel.* (subject); *A z t* ('that') *vitte el, a m i t* ('what') *talált.* (object); *A n n a k* ('to that') *adom, a k i n e k* ('to whom') *akarom.* (adverbial); *A jellem a z* ('that'), *a m i vagyunk.* (predicate).

The part of sentence role is different: *A z* ('he, the person') *látogatott meg, a k i r e* ('for whom') *nem is gondoltam.* (subject—adverbial); *Csak a z t* ('that') *kérem, a m i r e* ('on what') *szükségem van.* (object—adverbial); *A z* ('he') *jöjjön be, a k i t* ('who') *szólítok.* (subject—object).

The subordinate clause may precede the principal clause: *A m i t* ('what') *talált, a z t* ('that') *elvitte. A k i t* ('who') *szólítok, a z* ('he, that person') *bejöhet.*

The combinatory possibilities of the demonstrative and the relative pronoun may be illustrated in the following way:

az	*aki, ami, amely*
azt	*akit, amit, amelyet*
attól	*akitől, amitől, amelytől*
annak	*akinek, aminek, amelynek*
abból	*akiből, amiből, amelytől*
ahhoz	*akihez, amihez, amelyhez*
....	....

Any item in the column on the left can be combined with any item in the column on the right. The pronoun *amely* is present in the column on the right but it is far more limited than the other two.

In the older language *ki* was more frequent than *aki*, it did not refer only to persons: *Menyel stekeledmeg a z o k o t* ('those') *k y k e t* ('what') *hallottal* (14th century). *Aki* developed in these positions from the pronouns *az* and *ki* where the two were juxtaposed: *a z* ('he'), *k y* ('who') *megzomoroytottvala, volt ewrdewg* (14th century). There is only one example of the contrasted form in the Jókai-kódex: *meg sepre a k y t* ('what') *megnem sepretvala.*

Clauses with relative pronouns developed from coordinate sentences. The relative pronoun was originally an indefinite or interrogative pronoun and appeared in the first coordinate clause. In the second clause there was either no demonstrative pronoun referring back or there was one; there may also have been a personal pronoun in it. There are examples of all three possibilities in the Jókai-kódex (though here we face not an indefinite or interrogative but a relative pronoun; the original state can be nevertheless reproduced from the syntactic position): *k y* (←valaki) *akar envtannam yewnye vegye fel kynyat; k y* (←valaki) *latthattyauala ewtet . . . bodognak aloytyauala magat az; k y* (←valaki) *engemet gyczer, gyczerem ewtet; v a l a k i* ('somebody') *ewtett kewuetty meg czalatyk, es v a l a m i t* ('something') *lewlendez add ennekem.* In the following sentences the indefinite pronoun

partly has a relative sense and partly is close to the use of pronouns with a generalizing sense *akárki* 'whoever', *akármi* 'whatever' or *bárki* 'anybody', *bármi* 'anything'. Today the following would be used instead of *valaki, valami* in the above sentences: *B á r k i* ('whoever') *követi, csalódik. A k á r m i t* ('whatever') (*bármit*) találsz, add nekem. Today the indefinite pronoun would be used in conditional sentences together with the conjunction *ha* instead of the above-mentioned ones: *H a v a l a k i* ('if somebody') *őt követi, csalódik. H a v a l a m i t* ('if something') *találsz, add énnekem.* The conditional sense is made possible by the meaning of the verb of the sentences which express general and usual action.

R e l a t i v e A t t r i b u t i v e C l a u s e s. In these the principal and the subordinate clauses have a common substantival member expressed in the principal clause. This member is replaced in the subordinate clause by a relative pronoun and in the principal clause an optional demonstrative pronominal attribute refers to the expressed noun, as well as to the clause. The corresponding noun of the main clause and the relative pronoun of the subordinate clause can play the same part-of-sentence role but they may also differ as in the former type.

If there is a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause, this type of sentence has a distinguishing meaning and the question corresponding to it is formed with the distinguishing interrogative word *melyik: Melyik kalap a tied? A z a k a l a p az enyém, a m e l y i k a jobb fogason van.* If there is no demonstrative pronoun in the main clause, then there is no distinguishing meaning. This is another type of sentence which is today distinguished from the former one in such a way that it is not the relative pronoun *amelyik,* but *amely,* which refers back to the main clause if it is not about a person: *A k a l a p, a m e l y* ('the hat which') *a jobb fogason van, az enyém. Megfogta a lánynak a k e z é t, a m e l y e n* ('the hand on which') *egy gyűrű volt. A r o k o n a* ('his relative') *jött el, a k i r e* (whom) *nem is számított.* The first example is from 1200: *Es uimagguc szent peter u r o t k i n e c odut hotolm.*

The relative pronoun with a non-distinguishing role is more frequent in Indo-European languages than in Hungarian. Attributive clauses in which something new is said about the noun of the main clause in order to continue the narrative are less usual in Hungarian, though they do occur. In this case coordination is more usual in Hungarian: *Sok k ö n y v e t kaptam karácsonyra, m e l y e k e t szünetben el fogok olvasni.* 'I received many books for Christmas which I will read during the holidays.' With coordinate sentence: *Sok könyvet kaptam karácsonyra. Ezeket a szünetben el fogom olvasni.* Attributive sentences such as this occur quite often as Latinisms in the codexes: *Némi lelki f r á t e r . . . vala beteg . . . k i t nézvén szent ferenc:* . . .Quem considerans . . . The relative pronoun was often followed by the noun which was already present in the antecedents: *lakozik vala madaraknak nagy s o k a s á g a* ('masses'), *m e l y* ('which') *s o k a s á g o t* ('masses') *nézvén szent ferenc:* . . .quam multitudinem . . .

The type of sentence construction in which the relative pronoun stands before the corresponding noun of the main clause as its attribute was

frequent in the older language. Today it is no longer used in this way: *A m e l y k a l a p* ('which hat') *a jobb fogason van, az enyém;* even examples such as the following are rare: *A m e l y i k k a l a p . . .; A m e l y i k k u t y a ugat, az nem harap.* An older example is: *A m e l y e b . . .* Nevertheless, the following is found in the Funeral Sermon: *ki nopun emdul oz gimilstwl, halalnec halalaal holz* (= *amely napon eszel a gyümölcsből . . .* 'on the day you eat of this fruit . . .'). This construction corresponds to those sentences in which the pronoun is still indefinite or a relative: *ki napon = amely napon = ha valamely napon . . .; amely eb = valamely eb = ha valamely eb . . .*

Both types of clause presented above share the characteristic feature of corresponding to participial construction: *Ki korán kel, aranyat lel.* (lit.) 'He who rises early, finds gold.' = *A korán kelő aranyat lel.* '(The person) rising early finds gold.' The participial construction is more limited than the clausal construction partly because the participial construction is possible only if the relative pronoun of the clause is the subject or object (corresponding to the active or passive participle) but not adverb, and partly because the verb of the clause is able to take complements.

A d v e r b i a l C l a u s e s o f R e l a t i v e N a t u r e. In these the predicates of the main and subordinate clause are related to each other (in place, time, manner, comparison, etc.). This common circumstance is referred to by a relative pronoun, a relative pronominal adverb, or another conjunction in the subordinate clause and by a demonstrative pronominal adverb in the main clause.

The latter can sometimes even be omitted. The conjunction and the demonstrative word plays a definite syntactic role, and this role is always identical in the two sentences; it differs only between narrower boundaries (several relations of place, time). This accounts for the parallel construction of these sentences.

The combinatory possibilities of the pointing word and the conjunction can be illustrated as follows:

relation of place:

ott	'there'	*ahol*	'where'
oda	'to there'	*ahova*	'to where'
onnan	'from there'	*ahonnan*	'from where'
arra	'that way'	— *amerre*	'which way'
addig	'as far as'	— *ameddig*	'as far as'

relation of time:

akkor	'then'	— *amikor*	'when'
azóta	'still then'	— *amióta*	'since when; *hogy* 'that'
addig	'until then'	— *ameddig*	'till'; *amig* 'till'
azután	'after that'	— *miután*	'after when'; *hogy* 'that'
azelőtt	'before that'	— *mielőtt*	'before what'; *hogy* 'that'
azalatt	'during that'	— *mialatt*	'during what';
		miközben	'while', *míg* 'while'

addigra	'by that'	— *mire* 'by when', *mikorra* 'by when' *mihelyt* 'as soon as', *amint* 'as' *alighogy* 'scarcely'

relation of manner and state:

úgy	'so'	— *ahogy* 'as'; *mint* 'as'

comparative relation:

úgy	'as'	— *mint* 'as', *ahogy* 'as', *mintha* 'as if'
olyan	'such'	— *mint* 'as', *amilyen* 'like'
annyi	'as much'	— *amennyi* 'as much', *ahány* 'as many'
annál	'all the'	— *minél* 'as much as'

adjective in comparative degree — *mint* 'than'

conditional relation: *akkor* 'then' — *ha* 'if'.

Relations of time are far more frequently expressed by subordinate clauses (with a conjunction which stands first) and the main clause without pointing word. *Valamikoron* 'once upon a time' has the same indefinite role as *valaki* 'somebody', *valamit* 'something' or *valamely* 'some' have in the preceding types. 14th century: *valamykoron vagyonk egyettlenbe* (today: egyedül): *fegg meg engemet.*

The form of the conjunctions in the older language often differs from those in the present language: *mikort* and *mikoron* instead of *mikor* 'when', *miólta* instead of *amióta* 'since what' and *míglen* instead of *míg* 'till'. The use of *valaholott* instead of *ahol* 'where' corresponds to the use of *valamikoron* in the role of an adverb of place.

Ahol 'where' occurred, and even today occurs, in attributive clauses: *Abban a szobában dolgozom, ahol te.* cf. Jókai-kódex: "mene az haznak aytayara, holott az baratok eznek uala". *Holott* lost its adverbial role (place and time) after the age of codexes.

The expression of comparison has a varied history. In medieval Hungarian *miképpen* and *miként* are frequent, as well as the conjunctions *mint, hogynem, hogynemmint* which are used instead of *mint* for comparing unequal entities; *hogyhana, olyha, olymely* and other conjunctions appear in conditional sentences of comparison. During the period of book printing *mint, mintsem, mintha* gain the upper hand.

Sentences with *hogy.* In these the predicates of the main and subordinate clause are connected with each other. This common circumstance is indicated by the conjunction *hogy* in the subordinate clause and by a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause. This latter may sometimes even be omitted. The sentence with the conjunction *hogy* does not in itself reveal what part it plays in the main clause. The most important roles are those of subject, apposition, object and adverb of purpose. The conjunction *hogy* also has other roles.

A subject clause occurs primarily with impersonal verbs and nominal predicates: *Az történt, hogy* . . . 'It happened that . . .'; *Látszik, hogy* . . . 'It seems that . . .'; with others verbs: *lehet* 'may', *kell* 'must', *illik* 'be proper'; with nouns: *kár* 'pity', *csoda* 'miracle', *bolondság* 'silliness', *szokása* 'one's habit', *feladata* 'one's task', *panasza* 'one's complaint'; with adjectives: *igaz* 'true', *bizonyos* 'certain', *valószínű* 'probable', *jó* 'good', *különös* 'odd'.

Predicate clause: *Az első kérdés az, hogy* . . . 'The first question is whether . . .'; *Az a helyzet, hogy* . . . 'The situation is that . . .'; *A rendező dolga az, hogy* . . . 'The task of the director is that . . .'

The apposition predicate is the detailed expounding of the content of nouns such as: *elhatározás* 'decision', *érzés* 'feeling', *feltevés* 'supposition', *gondolat* 'thought', *törekvés* 'endeavour', *álláspont* 'standpoint', *elv* 'principle', *gyanú* 'suspicion', *hír* 'news', *parancs* 'order', *tény* 'fact', e.g.: *Megjött a hír, hogy a várost elfoglalták.* 'The news arrived that the town has been occupied.'

Object clauses with the following words: *lát* 'see', *hall* 'hear', *érez* 'feel', *hagy* 'let', *enged* 'permit', *vél* 'suppose', *gondol* 'think', *képzel* 'imagine', *sejt* 'suspect', *tud* 'know', *mond* 'say', *kérd* 'ask', *akar* 'want', *parancsol* 'order', *óhajt* 'wish', *kíván* 'long', etc.

In purpose clauses the meaning of the verb of the main clause is not limited; cf. *Wimagguc uromc isten kegilmet ez lelic ert, hug iorgossun w neki* (1200).

The conjunction *hogy* is presumably a form of the pronominal stem *ho-* (of Uralic origin) with an adverb of purpose ending. The meaning of manner developed from the original meaning of adverb of place.

Thus it was first used as an adverb of manner and state. Not one such use of *hogy* can be found in the Jókai-kódex but we find *vgy* ('*so*') *uer mynkett* . . . *hogy* ('that') *mendenewt* . . . *be tewlt czapaszokual.* In the Funeral Sermon it has a similar role in the sentence *Hug es tiv latiatuc zumtuchel. isa es num igg ember mulchotia ez vermut.* This conjunction can serve to connect subject and predicate sentences in constructions in which it originally had an indefinite meaning: *Látszik, hogy (= valahogy) talpára áll.* 'It can be seen, somehow he gets on his feet.' The other uses of the conjunction *hogy* can be explained in a similar way. It occurs in consecutive clauses of adverb of time and of cause.

A characteristic feature of the last two types presented is their correspondence to a gerundial or verbadverbial construction. Sentences with the conjunction *hogy* also correspond to sentences with the infinitive. *Ott* ('there') *építették fel a várost, ahol* ('where') *a két folyó találkozik* ('meet'). = *A két folyó találkozásánál* ('At the meeting point of the two rivers') *építették fel a várost. Szokása, hogy korán felkel.* 'His custom is to rise early.' *Szokása a korai felkelés.* 'Early rising is his custom.' *Látta, hogy ő ül.* 'He saw that he was sitting.' *Látta őt ülve.* 'He saw him sitting.' *Látta őt ülni.* 'He saw him sit.' There are, of course, several limits on the use of non-finite forms. In the course of the history of Hungarian, the use of clauses undoubtedly spread at the expense of non-finite forms.

WORD-FORMATION

Word-Composition

Coordinate Compounds

It is in general characteristic of the Finno-Ugric languages that they have a large number of coordinate compounds. These compounds may be considered as reflecting objective reality in which the whole is combined of its parts or of some of its characteristic elements. Hungarian records of the 15th and 16th centuries contain many synonyms and antonyms side by side, completing each other as coordinate sentence parts. One part of these constructions later developed into a compound: *bú* 'grief', *bánat* 'sorrow' → *búbánat* 'distress'; *bűvös* 'magic', *bájos* 'charming' → *bűvös-bájos* 'magic', *bűbájos* 'enchanting'; *ár* 'current', *víz* 'water' → *árvíz* 'flood'; *csúszik* 'slide', *mászik* 'climb' → *csúszik-mászik* 'crawl', *csúszómászó* 'crawler'.

The existence of this type of compound is largely due to the need for rhythm in speech and to the need for a device for emphasis.

The constituents of these coordinate compounds may be: noun + noun: *szó* 'word', *beszéd* 'speech' → *szóbeszéd* 'gossip'; *ág-bog, hírnév, kőszikla, felebarát;* adjective + adjective: *boldog* 'happy', *boldogtalan* 'unhappy' → *boldog-boldogtalan* 'rich and poor'; *dúsgazdag, tenyeres-talpas, testi-lelki;* verb + verb: *él* 'live', *hal* 'die' → *él-hal* 'be keen on something'; *ad-vesz, eszik-iszik, süt-főz, sír-rí, üt-ver*. This type of compound verb is generally separately conjugated: *adok-veszek, adnak-vesznek, járok-kelek, jársz-kelsz*. The meaning of the compound always amounts to more than the sum of the meaning of its members.

In another specific group of coordinate compounds the same word is repeated in other forms. These compounds are typified by their playful and rhythmic nature. On the basis of their form two main types of these so-called twin words can be differentiated: 1. The members differ in vowel harmony and labiality. (a) The item with front vowels stands first: *giz-gaz* 'weed', *dirib-darab* 'odds and ends', *tipeg-topog* 'toddle about'. (b) The illabial (unrounded) item stands first: *zireg-zörög* 'jingle-jungle', *dirmeg-dörmög* 'grimble-rumble', *gidres-gödrös* 'uneven'. 2. The second member has an initial consonant (*p, b, f, v, m*) which is not present in the first member. The first member has zero: *ázik-fázik* 'shiver', *irul-pirul* 'blush', *ityeg-fityeg* 'hangle-dangle'. The first member has an initial consonant other than *p, b, f, v, m: locs-pocs* 'slush', *ront-bont* 'spoil', *ken-fen* 'sharpen', *csillog-villog* 'glitter', *izeg-mozog* 'fidgets', etc.

Twin words have a twofold origin. They either consist of two independent words (*ázik* 'get wet', *fázik* 'shiver'; *irkál* 'scribble', *firkál* 'scrawl') or only one of the members existed originally and the other developed from it. The originally independent word may be the first member as in *tarka* ('variegated')-*barka, zene* ('music')-*bona*, but it is more often the second: *giz-gaz* ('weed'), *billeg-ballag* ('jog on'), *ireg-forog* ('revolve'). Pet names also developed in this way: *Anna-Panna, Andi-Bandi, Öske-Böske, Ista-Pista.*

Compound nouns. In the most frequent type of subordinate compound two nouns are simply combined without any formal means. The relation of the two members can be very varied, e.g., the first member can mean place, the second one can mean a living or non-living thing whose place or residence is indicated by the first member *bor* + *féreg* 'wine' + 'worm', *kút* + *víz* 'well' + 'water', *határ* + *kő* 'boundary' + 'stone', *búza* + *virág* 'corn' + 'flower', *sajt* + *kukac* 'cheese' + 'mite'.

The converse is also possible: *bivaly* + *akol* 'buffalo' + 'pen', *disznó* + *ól* 'pig' + 'sty', *kávé* + *ház* 'coffee' + 'house', *jég* + *verem* 'ice' + 'clamp'. Note also items in which the second one is the name of an instrument and the first member designates its characteristic: *őz* + *háló* 'deer' + 'net', *káposzta* + *gyalu* 'cabbage' + 'slicer', *hal* + *kés* 'fish' + 'knife'. Beside these, many other semantic relations are also possible. Syntactic structures corresponding to these compounds can be genitive constructions: (*kút vize* 'water of well', *disznó ólja* 'sty of pig'), but often only a looser syntactic connection can be established between them. In such cases the compound has the same value as a participial construction: *fegyverház : fegyvertartó ház, borsszita : borsszitáló szita, halbárka : haltartó bárka*. These parallel lexical units were often used simultaneously.

Older examples show that it was often neither a participial nor a genitive construction but an adjective derived from a noun that corresponded to the compound: *fegyverház : fegyveres ház, gőzhajó : gőzös hajó, könyvház : könyves ház, kocsiló : kocsisló, asztalbor : asztali bor*.

The equivalents of this type of construction with adjectival formants are mostly compounds consisting of two nouns in the related languages, cf. in Hungarian: *füves hely, zöldségeskert, mezei galamb, téli út, erdei macska, tavaszi nap, véres seb, kézi könyvtár, kézi evező*.

In the related languages these structures are of the type *fűhely, zöldségkert*, etc. This shows that the original construction was a simple case of juxtaposition. The construction with adjectival formants has been spreading in the course of the history of Hungarian. The old compound *hodu utu* (1055), i.e. *had* + *út* is today *hadi út* 'military' + 'road', the present *gyümölcsös kert* is *gyemülcs* + *kert* 'fruit' + 'garden' in the charters, *virágos kert* was formerly *virág* + *kert* 'flower' + 'garden', *esti csillag* was *est húgy* 'evening' + 'star', and *házi eszköz* was *ház* + *eszköz* 'house' + 'instrument'. Two nouns forming a compound occur many times in our earliest charters, e.g., from 1055: *zilü* + *kut, kert* + *hel, ravasz* + *lik, komló* + *aszó, ziget* + *zadu, kurtuel* + *fa, munorau* + *kereku* (= *mogyoró* + *erdő*). There are dozens of such compounds in the old language for distinguishing different kinds of taxes: *hegy* + *vám* 'mountain' + 'duty', *pecsét* + *pénz* 'seal' + 'money', *porta* + *pénz* 'manor' + 'money', *vám* + *zab* 'customs' + 'oats', etc. Constructions with adjectival formants pushed these compounds back to some extent but German influence which was very strong during the age of language reform, provided models for mirror translations, thus helping to re-establish these constructions.

In another large group of substantival compounds one member of the

compound is a non-finite verb (participle or nomen actionis). The participle can be the first member in an active sense, as in *termő* + *föld* 'yielding' + 'land', or in *mosó* + *nő* 'washing' + 'woman'.

But it is more often found in a passive or instrumental function with the meaning of local instrument. For example from the age of the Árpáds: *akasztó* + *fa* 'hanging' + 'tree', *áldó* + *kut* 'blessing' + 'well', *borhordó* + *út* 'wine carrying' + 'road', *járó* + *völgy* 'walking' + 'valley', *kerülő* + *hegy* 'going round' + 'mountain'. From the earliest codexes: *szántó* + *föld* 'ploughing' + 'land', *ítélő* + *hely* 'judging' + 'place', *lakó* + *hely* 'dwelling' + 'place', *ebédlő* + *ház* 'dining' + 'house', *prédikáló* + *szék* 'preaching' + 'pulpit'. The participle can occur as the second member, but in such case the construction is already substantivized and the whole word can be considered a noun. From the earliest codexes: *kapu* + *tartó* 'gate' + 'holding', *adó* + *kérő* 'tax' + 'asking', *adó* + *szedő* 'tax' + 'collector', *ajtó* + *tartó* 'door' + 'keeping', *írás* + *tudó* 'writing' + 'knowing', *szekért vezető* 'cart' + 'leading', *szőlő* + *őriző* 'grapes' + 'keeping', *törvény* + *tudó* 'law' + 'knowing', *nyak* + *vágó* 'neck' + 'cutting' (= the latter *hóhér* 'headsman'). Examples other than names of professions are: *gyertya* + *tartó* 'candle' + 'keeper', *mész* + *égető* 'lime' + 'burner', *nyakba* + *vető* 'around the neck' + 'putting'. The corresponding Latin terms are generally nouns but are not derived from participles. The great frequency of participles in compounds is connected with the fact that the participial formant has the role of forming a name of a profession or of an instrument and it is used passively. Both these facts are Finno-Ugric characteristics.

The verbal noun is also frequent in compounds throughout the history of Hungarian, e.g., *menny* + *dörgés* 'heaven' + 'thunder', *csorda* + *járás* 'cattle' + 'track'; in passive relation: *adó* + *fizetés* 'tax' + 'paying', *kukorica* + *fosztás* 'corn' + 'husking'. The verbal noun can also occupy the first position in a compound: *irtás* + *rét* 'cleared' + 'meadow', *irtás* + *föld* 'cleared' + 'field', *temetés* + *hely* 'burying' + 'place', *ülés* + *hely* 'session' + 'place'. This type of compound competes with the participial ones: *temető* + *hely* 'burying' + 'place', *ülő* + *hely* 'seating' + 'place'.

In a smaller group of substantival compounds the first member is an adjective and the second a noun: *agg* + *legény* 'old' + 'lad', *apró* + *fa* 'chopped' + 'wood', *bolond* + *gomba* 'mad' + 'mushroom', *drága* + *kő* 'precious' + 'stone', *édes* + *gyökér* 'sweet' + 'root', *gaz* + *ember* 'evil' + 'man', *kis* + *asszony* 'little' + 'woman', *kis* + *ujj* 'small' + 'finger', *nagy* + *apa* 'grand' + 'father', *vén* + *asszony* 'old' + 'woman'. These arose gradually.

The types of substantival compounds outlined above form an increasingly important proportion of the vocabulary in the course of the history of language. Their role is still growing constantly, partly at the expense of formant suffixes.

The importance of compounds in vocabulary building has been great especially since the language reform, because of the necessity of giving names to hosts of new concepts in everyday language and especially in technical languages. Today the role of compounds in vocabulary building is undoubtedly the greatest.

During the language reform substantival compounds followed models common in other European languages. Thus, compounds such as *fegy* + *ház* 'punish' + 'house', *fek* + *hely* 'lie' + 'place', *forr* + *pont* 'boil' + 'point', *gyógy* + *szer* 'cure' + 'implement', *gyűl* + *hely* 'gather' + 'place', *jár* + *mű* 'go' + 'instrument', *lát* + *határ* 'see' + 'boundary', *men* + *hely* 'save' + 'place', *mér* + *tan* 'measure' + 'study', *rak* + *tár* 'put' + 'hall', *röp* + *irat* 'fly' + 'writing', *szün* + *óra* 'break' + 'hour', *szün* + *idő* 'break' + 'time', etc. were created. This type of compound, however, was fashionable only during one specific age.

Compound adjectives. The use of compound adjectives does not seem to be old in Hungarian. Two main groups can be distinguished:

(a) Noun + adjective. — The compound expresses similarity: *hó* + *fehér* 'snow' + 'white', *jég* + *hideg* 'ice' + 'cold', *kő* + *kemény* 'stone' + 'hard', *acél* + *kemény* 'steel' + 'hard', *galamb* + *ősz* 'dove' + 'grey', *tej* + *fehér* 'milk' + 'white', *tenger* + *zöld* 'sea' + 'green', *vér* + *vörös* 'blood' + 'red', *villám* + *gyors* 'lightning' + 'quick', *kristály* + *tiszta* 'crystal' + 'clear', *méz* + *édes* 'honey' + 'sweet', *csoda* + *szép* 'miracle' + 'nice', *korom* + *fekete* 'soot' + 'black'. Formerly more circumscribed forms were used instead of these, e.g., *kőhöz hasonló kemény* 'hard similar to stone' instead of *kőkemény* or the form of adjective with a formant, e.g., *hófehér* + *ség* + *ű* instead of *hófehér*.

(b) Noun + adjective. — The adjective member of the compound belongs to limited class and moves within a certain range of meaning: *szegény* 'poor', *gazdag* 'rich', *teljes* 'complete', *kész* 'ready', *dús* 'plentiful', '*mentes*' 'free', *hű* 'faithful': *vér* + *szegény* 'blood' + 'poor', *adó* + *mentes* 'tax' + 'free', *szolgálat* + *kész* 'to help' + 'willing', etc. These compounds date from the period of language reform and are due to German influence.

A few sporadic types of compounds. These types of compounds, remarkable for their characteristics, are connected with the morpheme structure and agglutinative nature of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric and with the specific Finno-Ugric conciseness of participial constructions. These are the following:

(a) Noun with adverbial ending or adverb + noun: *tejbe* + *kása* 'in milk' + 'gruel', *borba* + *körte* 'in wine' + 'pear', *korán* + *káposzta* 'early' + 'cabbage', *által* + *ut* 'across' + 'way', *keresztül* + *málna* 'through' + 'straw'.

(b) Noun with adverbial ending + non-finite verb form: *eleve* + *járó* 'in front' + 'going', *dombon* + *ülő* 'on hill' + 'sitting', *éjjel* + *tudó* 'night' + 'knowing' (data from charters); *ajtón* + *álló* 'in door' + 'standing', *uton* + *járó* 'on way' + 'going', *földön* + *futó* 'on earth' + 'running', *fülön* + *függő* 'in ear' + 'hanging', *napra* + *forgó* 'to sun' + 'turning', *nagyra* + *vágyó* 'high' + 'aiming', *semmire* + *kellő* 'for nothing' + 'worth', *fülbe* + *való* 'in ear' + 'fitting', *utra* + *való* 'for way' + 'appropriate' = 'send off', *arcul* + *csapás* 'in face' + 'blowing', *helyre* + *igazítás* 'to place' + 'adjustment' = 'correction', *szemre* + *hányás* 'to eye' + 'throwing' = 'blame'.

(c) Noun with poss. pers. suffix + participle: *hasa* + *fájó* 'abdomen' + 'aching', *magva* + *váló* 'stone' + 'separating' = 'free stone', *vére* + *hulló*

'blood' + 'shedding', *szava* + *hihető* 'word' + 'credible' = 'trustworthy', *haszna* + *vehető* 'use' + 'takeable' = 'useful', *agya* + *furt* 'brain' + 'drilled' = 'shrewd', *esze* + *veszett* 'mind' + 'lost' = 'crazy', *keze* + *aszott* 'hand' + 'wizened', *magva* + *szakadt* 'stone' + 'broken' = 'extinct'.

(d) Noun with adverbial ending or adverb + verb: *észre* + *vesz* 'to mind' + 'take' = 'notice', *karon* + *fog* 'by arm' + 'take', *félre* + *rug* 'away' + 'kick', *végre* + *hajt* 'to end' + 'carry' = 'carry out', *abba* + *hagy* 'unfinished' + 'leave' = 'abandon', *agyon* + *üt* 'over' + 'hit' = 'strike dead', *nyilván* + *tart* 'in evidence' + 'keep'.

(e) Participle with adverbial ending or verbal noun + verb form: *nőttön nő* 'constantly grow', *járton jár* 'go constantly', *győztön győz* 'win constantly', *nézten néz* 'see constantly'. These forms were used in the 16th and 17th centuries for emphasis. They have completely gone out of fashion.

(f) Noun + participle + noun: *menny* + *ütő* + *kő* 'heaven' + 'striking' + 'stone', *csorda* + *kelő* + *hely* 'cattle' + 'rising' + 'place', *barom* + *járó* + *föld* 'cattle' + 'going' + 'field', *király* + *álló* + *hegy* 'king' + 'standing' + 'place', *víz* + *álló* + *hely* 'water' + 'gathering' + 'place'.

(g) Noun + participle or verb form: *guta* + *ütött* 'apoplexy' + 'stricken', *por* + *lepett* 'dust' + 'covered', *anya* + *szült* 'mother' + 'delivered', *ügye* + *fogyott* 'business' + 'decreased' = 'gawky', *isten* + *verte* 'god' + 'stricken', *isten* + *adta* 'god' + 'given', *madár* + *látta* 'bird' + 'seen', *nap* + *égette* 'sun' + 'burnt', *vér* + *mosta* 'blood' + 'washed', *vér* + *áztatta* 'blood' + 'drenched'.

Derivation of Word

General Characteristics of Hungarian Derivation

1. Formants which considering their function correspond to each other in many languages can also be found in Hungarian. These comprise the most important group of category-changing formants. They form *nomina actionis* from verbs (*jár* 'go' + *-ás* = 'gait'), *nomnia actoris* (*arat* 'reap' + *-ó* = 'reaper'); nouns meaning the place, object, result or means of action (*ebéd* 'dinner' + *-ő* = 'dining room', *olvas* 'read' + *-mány* = 'reading', *ír* 'write' + *-at* = 'writing', *ás* 'dig' + *-ó* = 'digging'; adjectives: *nyúl* 'stretch' + *-ós* = 'tensile'); verbs from nouns when the substantival base word is the means, object, or result of the action (*kapa* 'hoe' + *-l* = 'to hoe', *engedély* 'permit' + *-ez* = 'to permit', *fénykép* 'photo' + *-ez* = 'take photos'); adjectives with different shades of meaning (*só* 'salt' + *-s* = 'salty', *halál* 'death' + *-os* = 'mortal', *hegy* 'mountain' + *-i* = 'by mountain', *kedd* 'Tuesday' + *-i* = 'of Tuesday', *nagy fej* 'head' + *-ű* = 'big headed'), abstract nouns from adjectives (*szép* 'beautiful' = *-ít* = 'beautify', *szép* 'beautiful' + *-ül* = 'get prettier').

The most typical among formants which do not change category are those meaning profession (*asztal* 'table' + *-os* = 'joiner'), diminutives (*nyúl* 'rabbit' + *-acska* = 'little rabbit'), or augmentatives and collectives (*hegy* 'mountain' + *-ség* = 'mountain ranges'). Among deverbal verbs the formants for *genus verbi* (causative, passive, reflexive) and of aspect (durative, iterative) are the most general (*ír* 'write' + *-at* = 'cause to write', *ír*

'write' + *-atik* = 'it is written', *mos* 'wash' + *-akodik* = 'washes himself', *üt* 'strike' -+*öget* = 'keep striking', *kever* 'stir' + *-int* = 'stir once').

2. Hungarian word formation has three characteristics which have an effect on the entire language and distinguish it from well-known Indo-European languages.

(a) Formants of very great productivity are used in Hungarian in the most significant and general formant functions. This reveals that characteristic of Hungarian to be encountered in other cases also, according to which meaning and form coincide quite strictly, cf. the trifurcation of Hungarian adverbial endings according to the three directions.

Hungarian also approaches the perfectly regular system of artificial languages on the field of formants, as in Esperanto where a single formant corresponds to very significant meaning, and its use is completely regular. One formant is tied to each important formant function. This regularity is characteristic of the later history of Hungarian, and it is presumably in connection with the unifying tendency accomplished by the development of literary language. During the first centuries after the Conquest and even in the 15th and 16th centuries the stock of formants was far richer but there were more synonyms and polysemantic formants. This was even more characteristic of the Finno-Ugric period.

The regularity of living, productive Hungarian formants can be shown statistically on the basis of data from a Hungarian–German dictionary. Hungarian nouns with the suffix *-ás/-és* correspond to the following distribution of German suffixes: *-ung* 30%, *-e* 15%, *-ei* 10%, no suffix 20%, and the infinitive in 25%.

(b) Devices for changing a word class in Hungarian are readily available. Thus even adverbs can be further derived: *távol-ság* 'far' + 'ness' = 'distance', *közel-ség* 'near' + 'ness', *mostan-ság* 'now' + 'ness' = 'nowadays', *összevissza-ság* 'topsy-turvy' + 'dom' (nouns); *közel-i* 'near', *távol-i* 'far', *lent-i* 'down', *fent-i* 'up', *alant-as* 'inferior', *felett-es* 'superior', *állítólag-os* 'supposed', *utólag-os* 'subsequent' (adjectives); *közel* 'near' + *-ít* = 'approach', *távol* 'far' + *-ít* = 'remove', *közel* 'near' + *-edik* = 'approach', *távol* 'far' + *-odik* = 'abandon' (verbs).

The richness of formants in Hungarian makes it possible to give names to object concepts and to action concepts, starting from two points. The name of a profession can thus be derived from a verb by means of the name of profession formant *-ó/-ő*. This was originally participle formant: *szab-ó* 'cut' + 'er' = 'tailor', *tanít-ó* 'teach' + 'er', *költ-ő* 'writ' + 'er'. Or it can be derived from a noun with the formant *-s* which was originally an adjective formant: *asztal* 'table' + *-os* = 'joiner', *lakat* 'lock' + *-os* = 'locksmith'.

Verbs undergo similar processes; cf. *elad* 'sell' and *árul* 'be engaged in selling' from *áru* 'goods' + *-l* = 'sell'. An entire list of reciprocal derivations of which pairs of synonyms, formed from different stems by means of formants of different categories, can be compiled: *tanács* 'advice' = *ajánl-at* 'offer', *tanács-ol* 'advise' = *ajánl* 'offer'; *csomag* 'pack' = *göngyöl-eg* 'wrapping', *csomag-ol* 'pack up' = *göngyöl* 'wrap'; *mérges-kedik* 'is angry' =

dühöng 'rage', *mérges* 'angry' = *dühöng-ő* 'raging'; *bánat* 'sorrow' = *elkeseredett-ség* 'desperateness', *bánat-os* 'sorrowful' = *elkeseredett* 'desperate'; *ellenőr* 'controller' = *felügyel-ő* 'supervis + or', *ellenőriz* 'control' = *felügyel* 'supervise'; *büszké-lkedik* 'is proud' = *henceg* 'boast', *büszke* 'proud' = *henceg-ő* 'boasting'; *jókedv* 'good humour' = *vidám-ság* 'merriment', *jókedv-ű* 'good humoured' = *vidám* 'merry'; *fény* 'glitter' = *világos-ság* 'lightness', *fény-es* 'glittering' = *világ-os* 'light'.

Two large groups of adjectives and nouns (adjectives expressing inner qualities and characteristics and nouns expressing a state or profession) also have verbal counterparts: *szomorú* 'sad': *szomor-kodik* 'is sad', *szerény* 'modest': *szerény-kedik* 'behave modestly', *alázatos* 'humble': *alázatos-kodik* 'behave humbly'; *tanár* 'teacher': *tanár-kodik* 'practice teaching', *ügyvéd* 'solicitor': *ügyvéd-eskedik* 'practice law'.

(c) The third characteristic feature of the use of formants in Hungarian is a common Uralic-Altaic characteristic and comes from the agglutinative nature of Hungarian: several formants may follow each other within one single form. Words as long as the following are not rare: *alkalmaz* 'apply' + *-hat-atlan-ság* = 'inapplicability', *jav-ít* 'repair' + *-hat-atlan* = 'irreparable'. These can also take suffixes and endings.

The most productive formants in the Bécsi Kódex and in the present day are the following. Non-finite forms are not considered. Capital letters mark invariants.

	verb		noun		adjective	
	Bécsi Kódex	today	Bécsi Kódex	today	Bécsi Kódex	today
deverbal	—	*-GAT*	*-AT*	—	*-TALAN*	*-TLAN*
	-AT	*-AT*	*-ÁS*	*-ÁS*		*-ÓS*
	-ATIK	—	*-Ó*	*-Ó*	*-HATÓ*	
	-HAT	*-HAT*			*-HATATLAN*	
denominal	*-l*	*-l*	*-CSKA*	*-CSKA*	*-Ó*	*-Ú*
	-z	*-z*		*-KA*	*-s*	*-s*
	-(L)KODIK	*-(L)KODIK*			*-i*	*-i*
		-SKODIK	*-s*	*-s*	*-TALAN*	*-TALAN*
			-né	*-né*	*-beli*	*-féle*
				-nő		*-szerű*
						-nyi
deadjectival	*-OL*	*-UL*				
	-ODIK	*-ODIK*				
	-JT	*-ÍT*	*-SÁG*	*-SÁG*	*-b*	*-ABB*
	-(L)KODIK					

There is a difference in the combinability of the formants. In the Bécsi Kódex the formant *-ÁS* is always last. Recently the adjective formants *I* and *U* have preempted that position: *tanul-ás-i*, *jár-ás-ú*. This restriction also reveals the old subordinate role of *-ÁS* as compared to the noun formant *-AT* (also a nomen actionis). Formerly the formant *-i* was also among those which could not be followed by another formant. Today we find such examples as *házi-as*.

The formal means of expression of the particular main formant functions will be discussed in more detail in the following.

Formation of deverbal verbs. From among deverbal verb formants in Hungarian the frequentative-iterative and the *genus verbi* formants (causative, mediopassive, reflexive, etc.) are developed. The potential formant is a specific one. (*Genus verbi* formants have been discussed under syntax.) Instantaneous formants do not play a great role in the known period of the history of Hungarian but they could have had a more significant role earlier. Most of the simple frequentative formants (*-l, -d, -z, -sz, -s*) are of Uralic origin, as are the simple instantaneous ones (*-t, -p, -n, -l*). The most frequent frequentative formants in the Bécsi Kódex are *-l* and *-z*. The formant *-gat/-get* occurs only in four verbs in that codex. The formant *-gat/-get* (a bundle of formants containing frequentative *-g* and causative *-t*) has been spreading gradually from the 16th century on and has been pushing the rival frequentative bundles of formants (*-dos, -dokol, -dogál*) into the background. Today it is the most productive.

The potential formant *-hat/-het* was developed from the independent verb *hat* during the separate life of Hungarian. It existed already in 1200: *mul-chot-ia*. It means 'can, is capable' and 'may, is possible', and is thus equivalent to the modal verbs of other languages. *Elmehet.* = *Neki szabad elmenni.* 'He may go away.' *Megszabadíthat minket.* = *Meg tud szabadítani minket.* 'He can rescue us.'

The verb *hat* presumably developed from 'go forward, go on' to 'go as far, reach' and to 'arrive at, capable of doing it'. The formant *-hat* can be added to every verb, thus considerably increasing the synthetic agglutinative appearance of the Hungarian verb.

Formation of denominal verbs. The two most productive formants in the course of the whole history of Hungarian are the Uralic *-l* and *-z*. They have had a dominating role in this function from the age of the Árpáds on (*szó* 'word' + *-l* = 'say', *kín* 'pain' + *-z* = 'torture'). They have various meanings, which could be summed up in the following general formula: he acts in such a way that the action is characterized by the thing meant by the base word. This characteristic can be means, result, object, etc. In productivity they already supersede other denominal verb formants in the Bécsi Kódex: *csudá* 'miracle' + *-l* = 'admire', *gyalu* 'slicer' + *-l* = 'slice', *szolgá* 'servant' + *-l* 'serve', *ruhá* 'dress' + *-z* = 'supply with dress', *köv* 'stone' + *-ez* = 'pave', *oltalm* 'protection' + *-az* = 'protect'.

Beside *-l* and *-z* the most productive composite of formants belonging here are *-kodik* or *-lkodik* and *-skodik*. Their chief meaning is 'acts as somebody': *fejedelem* 'prince' + *-kedik* = 'acts as a prince', *társ* 'fellow' + *-alkodik* = 'converse'. The *-l* of *-lkodik* is originally a frequentative formant (or the *-l* discussed above). It is followed by a deverbal intransitive formant: *munká* 'work' + *-l* = 'be engaged in' + *-kodik* = 'be active', *csudá* 'miracle' + *-l* = 'admire' + *-kodik* = 'keep admiring'. The formant *-skodik* was brought about in a similar way. It dates back only to the 16th century but is quite productive: *katoná* 'soldier' + *-skodik* = 'do military service',

ügyvéd 'lawyer' + *-eskedik* = 'practice law'. The *-s* is originally an adjective formant: *ház* 'house' + *-as* = 'married' + *-kodik* 'be married' (15th century).

Formation of deadjectival verbs. Formants belonging here are among the most productive ones. They are identical with deverbal *genus verbi* formants. In the Bécsi Kódex the most frequent formants are *-ol, -öl* corresponding to the present *-ul, -ül* and the antecedent of the modern suffix *-ít : -ejt*.

széles < *-ől* / *-ejt* today: *széles* < *-ül* / *-ít* (but rather: *széles* + *edik*)

The formant *-kodik/-lkodik* coincides with the denominal formant: *méltatlan* 'indignant' + *-kodik* = 'be indignant', *nyájas* 'gentle' + *-kodik* = 'be agreeable', *büszke* 'proud' + *-lkedik* = 'be proud'. It is quite productive in a certain meaning (the base word indicates a mental quality or character): *bátor* 'courageous' + *-kodik* = 'dare', *ügyes* 'skillful' + *-kedik* = 'behave skillfully', *huncut* 'naughty' + *-kodik* = 'behave naughtily', *lustá* 'lazy' + *-lkodik* = 'loll about', *hetyké* 'saucy' + *-lkedik* = 'be cocky'.

Formation of deverbial nouns. The most general *nomen actionis* formant is *-ás/-és* today, being originally combined. It is a combination of the Uralic participle formant and the dimimutive and *nomen possessoris* formant *-s*. Its long vowel is the result of the diphthong developed from the participle formant and the stem. It dates back to the end of the 12th century but the Funeral Sermon has the formant *-at/-et, (-ot/-et)* in its place: *kinzotviatwl* (today: *kínzásától*), *ildetuitvl* (today: *üldözéseitől*), *intetvinec* (today: *intéseinek*). The formant *-at/-et* is very frequent even in *nomen actionis* function (see syntax and the non-finite forms on its origin). Today it is used in the function of the *nomen acti*, but it is no more productive. Though there were many *nomen acti*, and a lot of them formerly productive (*-mány, -vány, -dék, -dalom*, etc.), they have now all lost their productivity.

The formant for names of professions, which is identical with the participial and the *nomen actoris* formant, is more productive: *foly* 'flow' + *-ó* = 'river', *szül* 'deliver' + *-ő* = 'parent', *tanul* 'learn' + *-ó* = 'pupil', *szab* 'cut' + *-ó* = 'tailor', *(fa)vág* 'fell' + *-ó* = 'feller'. This formant can be found in names of instruments and in place names; *sep[e]r* 'sweep' + *-ű* = 'broom', *fúr* 'drill' + *-ó* 'gimlet', *cseng* 'ring' + *-ő* = 'bell', *vág* 'cut' + *-ó* = 'cutter', *ás* 'dig' + *-ó* = 'spade'; *ebéd[e]l* 'dine' + *-ő* = 'dining room', *hál* 'sleep' + *-ó* = 'bedroom', *dohány[o]z* 'smoke' + *-ó* = 'smoker', *nyaral* 'pass the summer' + *-ó* = 'summer residence'.

Formation of denominal nouns. The number of suffixes summed up by the main diminutive formants was great formerly, and these were also used to form personal and place names. The formants *-k, -cs, -s, -sz, -d, -g, -a, -e, (-i)*, which are of Uralic origin, are of this type; *-ka, -ke, -csa, -cse* and *-cska*, are either variants of these which have been augmented with a vowel or are themselves compound *-cska; -cske* has been the favourite diminutive formant since the Bécsi Kódex and is the most productive one

even today. It can be combined with practically every noun. Diminutive formants have a considerable role in the formation of pet names (*Palika, Évike, Jánoska*). In these the form *-ka/-ke* is also productive.

The formant *-s* has had a variety of functions for a long time. Among others it came into general use as a name-of-profession formant: *asztal* 'table' + *-os* = 'joiner', *lakat* 'lock' + *-os* = 'locksmith', *hal* 'fish' + *-as* = 'fishseller'.

The formant indicating wives' names, *-né* developed from an independent word: *kiralne* (14th cent.). This is a variant of the word *nő*. From the form *new (neü)* (found in the Bécsi Kódex) a labial variant *nő* and an illabial variant *né* developed. The former became the formant for the name of a profession (*szakács* 'cook' + *-nő* = 'lady cook', *tanár* 'teacher' + *nő* = 'schoolmistress') and the latter became the formant for wives' names (*bíró* 'judge' + *-né* = 'judge's wife', *molnár* 'miller' + *-né* = 'miller's wife').

Formation of deadjectival nouns. A very productive nominal formant meaning an abstract quality is *-ság/-ség*. This developed from an independent word in the separate life of Hungarian, presumably from a base meaning 'hill'. In the old language it has forms without vowel harmony. This fact indicates its origin as an independent word: *alazatus-seg, ag sig*, today: *alázatos* 'humble' + *-ság* = 'humbleness', *agg* 'old' + *-ság* = 'old age'. In the age of the Árpáds the formant was written as a separate word.

Usually every adjective can be combined with it. (A more original role of this formant is denominal and hence collective: *hegy* 'hill' + *-ség* = 'range of mountains', *katona* 'soldier' + *-ság* = 'army'.)

Formation of deverbal adjectives. The equivalent of the negative formant *-tlan/-tlen* also can be found in Vogul. The first Hungarian example is from 1300: *thudothlon*. There are many words with the formant *-tlan/-tlen* in the 15th century: *art* 'harm' + *-atlan* = 'harmless', 'innocent', *hit* 'belief' + *-ǫtlen* = 'unbeliever'.

The formant *-ós/-ős* developed from the combination of the participle formant *-ó/-ő* and the noun formant *-s*. It indicates constancy of an action or an inclination toward an action: *nyúl* 'stretch' + *-ós* = 'stretchy', *csíp* 'pinch' + *-ős* 'pinching', *ragad* 'stick' + *-ós* = 'sticky', *szúr* 'sting' + *-ós* = 'stinging'. Neither this nor any of the other adjective formants of similar meaning (*-atag, -eteg, -ékony, -ékeny, -ánk, -énk*) occurs in the Bécsi Kódex. Among these it is only the *-ós/-ős* which is productive today.

The composite formant *-ható* and *-hatatlan* developed from the formant *-hat/-het*. It contains a participle formant or a privative formant which follows *-hat/-het*. It is considered a simple formant because the formant *hat* has an active meaning (*tanul-hat* '[who] may learn', *tanít-hat* = '[who] may teach') but *tanul-ható* '[what] may be learned' and *tanít-ható* '[what] may be taught' have passive meaning. This distribution also applies to the privative formant: *tanul-hatatlan* '[what] cannot be learned', *tanít-hatatlan* '[what] cannot be taught'. With intransitive verbs *-hatatlan* also had an active meaning primarily: *hal-hat-atlan* '[who] does not die' = 'immortal'; *nyug-hat-atlan* '[who] cannot rest'. Words like these are still in the lexicon.

Formation of denominal adjectives. The most productive formant in this group is *-s*. Its meaning could be said to be: 'such that the thing meant by the base word is characteristic of it'. This characteristic can be: locality, accompaniment, part, consequence, possession, etc. It occurs several times in the Foundation Charter of Tihany: *cues* = *kōv* 'stone' + *-es* = 'stony', *fuegnes* = *fōveny* 'sand' + *-es* = 'sandy', *uluues* = *ölyv* 'hawk' + *-es* = 'hawky'. This formant is identical with the noun formant *-s*. It is of Uralic origin.

The formant *-talan, -tlan* is the opposite of the formant *-s* and is identical with the deverbal *-tlan: fegyver* 'weapon' + *-telen* = 'without a weapon', *erő* 'power' + *-tlen* = 'weak'.

The adjective formant *-i* is the opposite of the formant *-s* to the extent that it indicates a *nomen possessi*. It is found as early as the Hungarian charters. It follows mostly substantival base words meaning place, time or person and frequently proper names: *hegy* 'mountain' + *-i* = 'of mountain', *kert* 'garden' + *-i* = 'of garden'; *rég* 'long ago' + *-i* = 'old', *ma* 'today' + *-i* = 'of today'; *atya* 'father' + *-i* = 'fatherly', *király* 'king' + *-i* = 'kingly'; *buda* + *-i* 'of Buda', *perzsia* + *-i* 'Persian'. This formant is of Uralic origin but whether its antecedent is a diminutive formant or a lative ending is debated.

The adjective formant *-ó/-ő* (later on *-ú/-ű, -jú/-jű*) is a *nomen possessoris* formant of a specific role: it follows only nouns with adjectival attributes: *nagy fejű* 'big headed', *világos színű* 'light coloured'. It is very productive in this use as the means of transforming sentences with the substantive verb expressing possession into attributive construction: *Ennek a gyermeknek az arca piros.* 'The face of this child is red.' → *Ez a piros arcú gyermek . . .* 'This red faced child . . .'

Earlier this suffix could follow words with the formant *-ság/-ség* even when the attribute was missing: *irgalmasságó, ékességő*. This is connected with the fact that *-ság/-ség* was originally an independent word; thus *irgalmasságó* was originally *irgalmas-ság-ó*.

Formants such as *-féle* and *-szerű* are more recent. *Féle* can be added to practically any noun: *könyv* 'book' + *-féle* = 'book-like', *ruha* 'dress' + *-féle* 'dress-like', *bot* 'stick' + *-féle* = 'stick like'. The use of *-szerű* is more limited: *könyvszerű* is good but *bánatszerű* is odd.

The formant *-nyi* indicates measure. It developed in the 15th century and is today generally used with nouns marking measure: *két méternyi* 'about two meters', *egy arasznyi* 'a span long', *tenyérnyi* 'palmful', *láb* 'foot' + *-nyi* = 'a foot long'. The formant comes from the directional ending *-ni*.

The formant *-beli* (from the word *bél* 'intestine' + *-i* adjective formant) was more productive in the older language, than it is today. It was added mainly to base words with local meaning: *hegy* 'mountain' + *-beli* 'from the mountain'. Today its meaning is more extensive. A specific role of this formant in the old language (and sporadically today as well) is its occurrence after nouns with possessive personal suffixes and plural suffixes: *háza* 'his house' + *-beli* = 'from his house', *nemzetek* 'nations' + *-beli* = 'from among nations', *vidékek* 'lands' + *-beli* = 'from lands'.

Formation of deadjectival adjectives. The suffix *b/-bb* which is generally listed in the category of suffixes but which is more appropriately considered as a formant, serves to mark the comparative degree and it is of Uralic origin. In the Bécsi Kódex forms with *-b* are in the majority: *erǫs-b* (today: *erős-ebb*) = 'stronger', *kemē-b* (today: *kemény-ebb*) = 'harder'. The compared adjective can be further derived into a verb: *sze-bb-ít* ('beautify'), *erős-b-ít* ('strengthen'), *nagy-obb-odik* 'be augmented', *kis-ebb-edik* 'be decreased'.

The adjective formant *-s* added to an adjective decreases the intensity of the quality: *zöld* 'green' + *-es* = 'greenish', *barna* 'brown' + *-s* = 'brownish', *régi* 'old' + *-es* = 'old fashioned', *keleti* 'east' + *-es* = 'eastern', 'oriental', *falusi* 'village' + *-as* = 'rustic'.

The Preverb

The preverb plays a specific grammatical role in Hungarian. On the basis of its original directional meaning and its syntactic behaviour it belongs, in part, to the class of compounds. The most ancient preverbs, *be* 'in', *el* 'away', *fel* 'up', *ki* 'out', *meg* 'have + past part.' and *le* 'down', were originally adverbs with lative endings and in records of the age of the Árpáds and partly in the codexes they preserve their more original forms, *belé, elé, felé, kivé, megé, levé*. In this form some of them coincide with the corresponding postpositions, *elé, fölé, mögé*. The lative ending later disappeared. The development of preverbs was an event in the separate life of Hungarian. They have developed only in the Ob-Ugric languages partly from words etymologically related to the Hungarian preverbs.

The meaning of preverbs expressing the perfective (or rarely the durative) aspect have developed as a result of natural progress. They resemble the function of the Russian preverbs but are less regular in this function. This meaning of the preverb makes it first of all a means of connecting grammar with syntax. The preverb *meg* today has primarily this meaning.

The third characteristic of the Hungarian preverb which developed especially after the 15th century is its ability to change the meanings of verbal stems. In the 16th and 17th centuries this use of preverbs brought about a richness of synonyms; e.g., with the verb *arat* 'reap', *learat, bearat, felarat, megarat, elarat* 'finish harvesting' forms developed. Later on, the standard language preserved only *learat* from among the synonyms. In many cases the differentiation of meaning assigns different meanings to every preverbal variant, e.g. *átdolgoz* 'reconstruct', *bedolgoz* 'be a part-time employee', *eldolgoz* 'sew up', *ledolgoz* 'work off', *megdolgoz* 'work on'. This role of the preverb of specializing meaning is close to the role of formants.

The syntactic feature of the preverbs which connects them to the compounds is that they can be separated from the verb with which they are in construction and that they can even follow the verb: *De most nem megy el. Nem viszi ki.* Their behaviour is similar to that of free morphemes in that they can form a sentence in themselves as answers: *Elmész?* 'Are you going away?' *El. Megcsinálod?* 'Will you do it'? *Meg.*

As compared to the compound, however, they are like formal means of

relation in that their number is comparatively small (not more than one hundred, counting rare preverbs) and they can be combined with many verbs. This is particularly true of the six old preverbs.

The connection of preverbs with transitivity, relation of time and word order was discussed in the appropriate chapters on syntax.

Less Frequent Types of Word Formation

New words came into being not only regularly through productive ways of word formation but also in less regular ways. These less regular types of word formation were in fashion especially in the age of the language reform. The most significant among them was back-formation. This consists in the following: stems which never existed independently or are no longer felt to be such were deduced from unsegmentable word forms, and in that the end of the word was identified with a formant, e.g. the substantival stem *rom* 'ruin' from verb forms *romlik* ('deteriorate'), the noun *emlék* 'souvenir', from the verbal form *emlékezik* 'remember', or the nouns *dölyf* 'arrogance', *pír* 'redness' from the adjectives *dölyfös* 'arrogant', *piros* 'red'. This means of word formation was used less consciously. In this way the nouns *kapa* 'hack' and *vád* 'accusation' developed from the verbs *kapál* 'hack' and *vádol* 'accuse'. (For the other less frequent ways of word formation from the age of the language reform see the paper on "Standard Hungarian" in this book.)

In addition to back-formation, ending-setting has an important role in the development of adverbs. The majority of adverbs developed from the combination of some nominal stem and adverbial ending by the assimilation of the ending. This process produced the adverbs *itt* 'here', *ott* 'there', *benn* 'inside', *lenn* 'below', which originally consisted of a nominal or substantival stem and a locative ending.

The adverbs *éjjel* 'at night', and *nappal* 'by day' are also of this type: they contain an earlier form of the assimilated ending *-val/-vel* or its antecedent can be found.

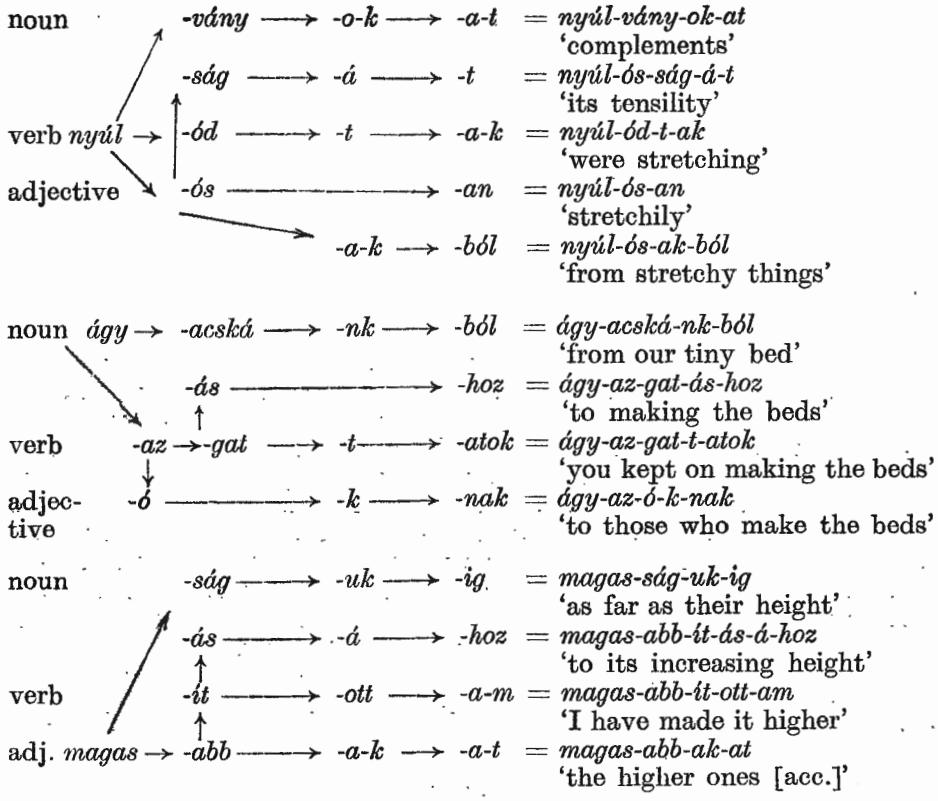
THE STRUCTURE AND FORM OF THE WORD

The Morpheme Structure of Parts of Speech and the Origin of Morpheme Forms

The Structure of the Main Parts of Speech

The structure of the main parts of speech can be illustrated as follows:

stem		derivational suffix (formant)	inflectional suffix inner	closing	
noun		*-ás* →	*-o-m* →	*-tól*	= *lát-ás-om-tól* 'from my seeing'
verb	*lát* →	*-hat* →	*-ná* →	*-d*	= *lát-hat-ná-d* 'you might see him'
adjective		*-ó* →		*-an*	= *lát-hat-ó-an* 'visibly'



The number of the possible combinations of different morphemes is very high. Even to the stems given here (*lát, nyújt, ágy, magas*) many other derivational suffixes (formants), inner and outer inflectional suffixes (suffix and ending) may be added, e.g.: *lát-ogat-t-ad, nyúl-hat-ná-nak, ágy-as-ai-tól, magas-od-ni*, etc.

Among suffixes which participate in the construction of the word there is first of all a sharp difference between derivational suffixes and inflectional ones. The former either change the part of speech category of the stem or, if not, they make it possible for another derivational suffix, which may change it, to follow. Some derivational suffixes are exceptions to this rule. For example, the diminutive formant cannot always be followed by a formant altering the part of speech; nevertheless this further derivation is possible with many words with diminutive formants: *fá-cská-s, ág-acská-jú*. The inflectional suffixes, added in word-final position, determine the part of speech: once these have been added to the stem or to the derived stem the part of speech category of the word cannot be altered. On the other hand, they themselves cannot alter the part of speech category either: they finalize the part of speech determined (but not finalized) by the stem or the derivational suffix. For example, the category of *ágy-az* ('make the beds')

derived from the noun *ágy* 'bed' is determined by the formant *-z* (verb) but is not thus finalized. Thus, the noun formant *-ás* can still be added to form a new noun. However, if the inflectional suffix characteristic of the verb *ágyaz* is added, the word can be finally considered as a verb: *ágy-az-t-am* 'I made the beds' or *ágy-az-tok* 'you make the beds'. This combinational feature characteristic of Hungarian is an appropriate criterion for distinguishing the two types of suffixes. This regularity is not changed by such exceptional forms as *nagy-ban-i* ('whole sale') or those cases in which the category is changed, e.g., *hoz-om-ra* ('to my bringing').

There are again two subgroups among inflectional suffixes according to the order of combination. These are the substantival base suffixes (plural, plural possession, possessive, *-e*), and the modal and tense suffixes.

The case suffixes, the verbal personal endings, adjectival modal-essive suffixes (*-an*, *-en*) are all closing suffixes. Thus, among the suffixes of the non-finite forms of verbs, participles and verbal nouns can be regarded as kinds of words formed with derivational suffixes, while the infinitive and the verbadverb can be regarded as formed with inflectional suffixes. These combinational rules are, of course, not universal prescriptions valid for all languages. They cannot even be applied to all Finno-Ugric languages. (For instance, in Finnish the personal suffixes follow case suffixes, in Votyak some case suffixes follow, and some precede the personal suffixes.)

There was a period in the history of Hungarian, not very long ago, for which the system of rules outlined above does not hold: derivational formants were added to case suffixes: *-ban-i: -tól-i*, etc. This aberration of the 19th century would have meant a qualitative change in the development of our language toward a greater synthetic, but it remained only a passing fashion. In fact, it applies only to the use of the adjective formant *-i*.

Categories of Parts of Speech

T h e V e r b. The morpheme structure of the Hungarian verb (considering the flectional suffixes and leaving aside the non-finite forms, which are discussed under syntax) shows the following scheme: stem of verb + suffix of time + suffix of mood + personal ending. This general scheme is realized as shown in the table on the next page.

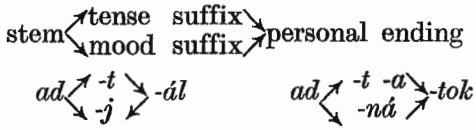
In addition to these, as data from the Funeral Sermon show, there was a paradigm with the narrative past suffix *-A* and another with the future suffix *-AND*. The personal endings which follow the suffix of the narrative past are identical with those which follow the model suffix *-NA*. The personal endings after the future suffix *-AND* are identical with those after the Ø tense suffix, with the one difference that there are no personal endings with *-ik* there.

The use of the suffix of the imperfect and future tenses ended by the end of the last century.

The presence of the form with *-AND* is accompanied by the connection of the real morphemes of the temporal and modal suffix: *ad-and-aná-l* 'you would give'; *ad-and-j-ál* 'you will have to give'.

With the absence of form with *-AND* thus, according to the present

linguistic usage, the morpheme structure of the verb is like this:



tense	suffix	mood suffix	personal endings				
			singular			plural	
			indef.		def.	indef.	def.
			without *-ik*	with *-ik*			
1.	1. p. present: Ø	declarative: -Ø	*-k*	*-m*	*-m*	*-UNK*	*-JUK*
2.	2. p. present: Ø	declarative: -Ø	*-sz*~ *-l*	*-l*	*-d*	*-TOK*	*-JÁTOK*
3.	3. p. present: Ø	declarative: -Ø	*-Ø*	*-ik*	*-JA*	*-NAK*	*-JÁK*
4.	1. p. present: Ø	conditional: *-NA*	*-k*	*-m*	*-m*	*-nk*	*-nk*
5.	2. p. present: Ø	conditional: *-NA*	*-l*	*-l*	*-d*	*-TOK*	*-TOK*
6.	3. p. present: Ø	conditional: *-NA*	*-Ø*	*-k*	*-a→á*	*-NAK*	*-K*
7.	1. p. present: Ø	imperative: *-J*	*-k*	*-m*	*-m*	*-UNK*	*-UK*
8.	2. p. present: Ø	imperative: *-J*	*-l*~ *-Ø*	*-l*	*-d*	*-TOK*	*-ÁTOK*
9.	3. p. present: Ø	imperative: *-J*	*-ON*	*-ék*	*-A*	*-NAK*	*-ÁK*
10.	1. p. past: *T*	declarative: -Ø	*-m*		*-m*	*-UNK*	*-UK*
11.	2. p. past: *T*	declarative: -Ø	*-ÁL*		*-d*	*-TOK*	*-ÁTOK*
12.	3. p. past: *T*	declarative: -Ø	*-Ø*		*-A*	*-k(-NAK)*	*-AK*

That is to say, the tense and mood suffix exclude each other in a linear way.

The co-occurrence of the conditional mood and the past tense is represented by the auxiliary *volna:* (stem + tense suffix + personal ending)+ *volna: (ad-t-ál) volna* 'you would have given'. In the same way when, very rarely, the past tense and the imperative mood are connected: (stem + tense suffix + personal ending) + *legyen: (ad-t-ál) legyen* 'you must have given'.

A review of the forms attached to certain functions in the morpheme structure of the verb clearly shows a characteristic which has often been emphasized in connection with Hungarian: the one-to-one relationships of

meanings and forms. In the system of conjugation there are relatively few homonym or synonym suffixes. The determined and undetermined conjugations are sharply separated and only in the 4., 5. and 6. lines of the above table, that is only after the suffix of the conditional mood, are the forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural the same: *vár-ná-nk* 'we would wait', *vár-ná-tok* 'yow would wait' *egy embert* 'for a man' or *az embert* 'the man'. In the same way in the imperfect: *vár-á-nk* 'we waited', *vár-á-tok* 'you waited' *egy embert* and *az embert*. In old Hungarian, however, for example in the Bécsi Kódex, meanings were formally also distinguished in the first person. The determined conjugation had the following forms: *vár-n-ók* 'we would wait' and *vár-ók* 'we waited' (*az embert*). The form *vár-n-ók* is still used, but mostly by older people and in dialects.

The parallelism of form and meaning is realized in the succession of the morphemes, though here the tendency, characteristic of inflectional languages, is that number and person are kept distinct through the opposition of forms: two different forms contain altogether three elements of meaning, e.g.: singular + first person *-M*, plural + first person *-UNK*. But this is a result of a newer development: in the Funeral Sermon the form *vogyu-mu-k* can be found where the elements *-m* and *-k* can be clearly distinguished. The history of the personal ending *-TOK* is the same. In *-t* is the initial consonant of the 2nd personal pronoun (*te*), and *-k* is the plural suffix. An inflectional characteristic in our conjugation is the opposition of the indeterminate *várna* and the determinate *várná*, but this is not an ancient heritage.

The Hungarian conjugation developed in the separate life of Hungarian. The elements of the conjugation, the morphemes serving to designate time, mood and person are of Finno-Ugric or even Uralic origin. The distinction between determined and undetermined conjugations perhaps also had its origin in Proto-Uralic. This can be deduced from the fact that in the Ugric languages, in Mordvinian and in some Samoyedic languages, unmarked undetermined forms are opposed to marked determined ones in the 3rd person, as in Hungarian *vár : várja*.

Among tense suffixes the *-T* shows a relationship to the suffixes of the Finno-Ugric non-finite verb forms and, as we have mentioned in the syntax, it is identical with the Hungarian participle formant. The tense suffix of the imperfect tense *-e (-a/-e, -á/-é)* developed from the Finno-Ugric past-tense suffix: *-j*. It became a semi-vowel *i̯* after the vowel of the verb stem and then, in accordance with the sound laws it formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel (*ëi*) which yielded the long vowel *é*. This became short at the end of the word: *e*. It also became subject to the laws of Hungarian vowel harmony: *á, a*.

The suffix of the conditional mood can be traced back to Uralic *-nek*. After the spirantization and the vocalization of *-k* at the end of the word, its later development is parallel to the past-tense suffix *-j*.

The suffix *-j* of the imperative is a descendant of the Uralic *-k*. This development is regular. The different formal variants of the imperative suffix *[-š, -s, -z, -ď, -ń, -č] (āš-š-on, hoz-z-a-m, aď-ď-a-d, foń-ń-a, füč-č-e)* are assimilations of *j*.

In the Bécsi Kódex the *j* or its antecedent the *χ* was not always assimilated: *eresz-j-en, hoz-j-on.*

Among personal endings, those of the determined personal conjugation are the agglutinated and reduced forms of the personal pronouns (*-m, -d, -JA*) or combinations of these with the plural suffix *-k (-TOK, -JAK)*. The same phonetic development has taken place here as in the possessive (see under Syntax). The only difference is that the determinative element of personal pronominal origin appeared first in the 3rd person of the verb and later, probably through a process of mixing of paradigms, the personal endings of the 1st and 2nd persons became the members of the determinative conjugational paradigm. The personal endings *-sz* and *-l* are presumably verbal frequentative formants, of Uralic origin. The origin of the *-k* is unclear. The explanation of the personal ending *-ik* was already given in the syntax in the course of the discussion of the intransitive formants. The element *-j* of the determined conjugation is secondary: it has assumed the role of a hiatus-filler and it crept into certain forms analogically. The *n* in the plural personal ending *-NAK* is originally the ending of the 3rd person which can be found in *leszen, teszen, vagyon* and in certain other older verb forms. In the plural these were probably **leszenek, *vagyonak* and from these *lesznek, vagynak* developed regularly. The ending *-nak, -nek* was first abstracted from these plural forms and then attached to all verbs: *ad-nak, fog-nak, kér-nek, néz-nek.* Formally this form was usually used after the past tense suffix: *ad-t-a-nak, kér-t-e-nek.* During the language reform these were again in use but only for a short time.

The question arises why the endings of the determined conjugation were formed from the personal pronouns. There is no adequate explanation for this. The view that a specifically Finno-Ugric way perceiving action lies at the origin of this development may be correct. In the Finno-Ugric languages the relation between verb and personal pronoun may involve an emotional interest in the object of the action. Such an emotional interest may reside in the fact that the object is known and has already been mentioned.

This may explain how verbal stems agglutinated with personal pronouns entered the determined conjugation. Otherwise it is probable that the paradigms of the conjugation arose through the mixture of different conjugational systems. The conjugation with *-ik* in the 3rd person is used mostly together with the intransitive suffixes. In the Bécsi Kódex it can be found mostly in forms of intransitive suffixes. At that time certain verbs were *-ik*-less: *asz, foly, hazud,* etc.

The ending *-ik* has spread gradually during the history of the language while, at the same time, the regular paradigm of *-ik* has become weaker and weaker in different tenses and moods: *(lakoz-om, lakoz-ol, lakoz-ik; lakoz-ná-m, lakoz-ná-l, lakoz-né-k; lakoz-z-am, lakoz-z-ál, lakoz-z-ék).* In the 1st person the form with *-k (eszek)*, and in the conditional and imperative mood the form without *-ék (lakoz-na, lakoz-z-on)* have become widespread. At the time of the Bécsi Kódex the paradigm with *-ik* was regular, as it still is in certain dialects (e.g., Székely).

The *-lak/-lek* suffix, a peculiar member of the definitive conjugation, is one of the most representative embodiments of the synthetic nature of the

Hungarian verb form. This refers to a second person object and first person subject: *lát-lak*, *kér-lek*. According to one assumption, *-l* is a frequentative formant which was originally attached to the word stem and *-k* became connected with the first person personal ending, thus giving rise to *-lak/-lek*.

In connection with the Hungarian conjugation there is an often quoted but mistaken view that the Hungarian verb forms are nominal forms. This view developed because of the coincidence of the verb forms and the forms with a possessive suffix as in *ad-om* and *kalap-om*, *ad-od* and *kalap-od*, *ad-ja* and *kalap-ja*, *ad-unk* and *kalap-unk*, *ad-tok* and *kalap-otok*. Foreign linguists often consider this assumed nominal characteristic of the verb as the most specific feature of Hungarian. In contrast with this mistaken view, as we have seen, the truth is that the verb forms (with the exception of the past forms with *-t*) are not nominal forms with a possessive personal suffix but rather the verbal personal endings and the possessive personal suffixes were brought about from the agglutination of the same personal pronouns.

The Noun. The morpheme structure of the Hungarian noun shows the following scheme:

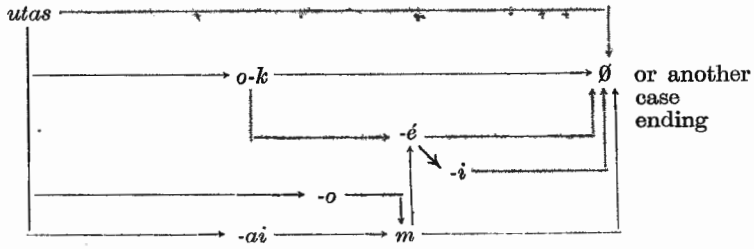
(a) Substantive stem + Numeral suffix + Case suffix: *ház-ak-at* 'houses'. Both suffixes can be dispensed with or it can be Ø: *ház*. (Nominative meaning and singular number must be implied.)

(b) Substantival stem + Number suffix of possession + Possessive personal suffix + Case suffix: *ház-ai-m-at* 'my houses'.

In the case of one possession the number suffix of possession can be dispensed with as can the case ending: *ház-am*.

(c) The suffix *-é* can be added to the morpheme structure of the noun in both schemes: the suffix *-é* comes after the number suffix or the possessive personal suffix (*utas-ok-é-ban*) or if there is no plural suffix (*utas-é-ban*), without a case ending (*utas-é*). In a possessive relation the forms are *utas-ai-m-é-t* or *utas-om-é-t*. A plural suffix can also be attached to the *-é* but this usage is rare: *utas-om-é-i-t*.

Taking all the possible combinations into account the morpheme structure of the Hungarian noun can be represented as follows:



The parallelism of form and meaning in the succession of morphemes is realized much better with nouns than with verbs. In Hungarian the peculiarity characteristic of inflectional languages of using different case suffixes in the singular and in the plural (like the Latin *casa-m* and *casa-s*, Russian столы and столов) does not exist. In such languages the case ending morpheme contains two elements of meaning: the meaning of the case

ending and the meaning of number. In Hungarian the formal components of these two meanings are clearly distinguished: *ház-ak-ban.*

The suffix *-é* has a specific function of syntactic condensation. It is a substitute for a repeated possession word.

The wholly explicated sentence would be the following: *Ez a könyv a barátom könyv-e.* 'This book is a book of my friend.' But instead we say: *Ez a könyv a barátom-é.* 'This book is my friend's.' Or: *Kisnek is meg Nagynak is van egy kutyája.* 'Kis and Nagy both have a dog.' *Én a Kis kutyájától jobban félek.* 'I am more afraid of Kis's dog.' But instead we may say: *Én a Kis-é-től jobban félek.* 'I am more afraid of Kis's.'

The condition of the use of *-é*, therefore, is that the possession word which it replaces must be present in the preceding text.

A similar condensation is brought about in the use of adjectives with case endings: *Kisnek kék és fekete nyakkendője van.* 'Kis has a blue as well as a black necktie.' *Ma a kék nyakkendőt vette fel.* 'Today he put on the blue necktie.' Instead we can say: *Ma a kék-et vette fel.* 'Today he put on the blue one.'

In the Bécsi Kódex the following case endings can be found: 1. nominative: *ház-ø* 'house'. — 2. genitive: *ház-nak* 'of the house' (in form and origin it is identical with the dative). — 3. accusative: *ház-at* 'house'. — 4. inessive: *ház-ban* 'in the house'. — 5. elative: *ház-ból* 'from the house'. — 6. illative: *ház-ba* 'to the house'. — 7. superessive: *ház-on* 'on the house'. — 8. delative: *ház-ról* 'from (top of) the house'. — 9. sublative: *ház-ra* 'onto the house'. — 10. adessive: *ház-nál* 'at the house'. — 11. ablative: *ház-tól* 'from the house'. — 12. allative: *ház-hoz* 'to the house'. — 13. terminative: *ház-ig* 'as far as the house'. — 14. dative: *ház-nak* 'to the house'. — 15. causal—final: *ház-ért* 'for the house'. — 16. translative—factive: *ház-zá* 'into a house'. — 17. instrumental—comitative: *ház-zal* 'with the house'. — 18. essive—formal: *ház-ként* 'as a house'. — 19. essive: *lányá-ol* (today: *lányá-ul*) 'as his daughter'. — 20. temporal: *éjfél-koron* (today: *éjfél-kor*) 'at midnight'. — 21. essive—modal: *vér-ént* (today it is out of use).

Case endings brought about later, which together with the endings enumerated above, except the essive—modal *-ént*, form the system of case endings of the noun today, are: 1. distributive: *darab-onként* 'per piece'. — 2. distributive—temporal: *nap-onta* 'day by day'. — 3. sociative: *ruhá-stul* 'in clothes'. — 4. modal: *ajándék-képpen* 'as a present'.

The Hungarian case endings were brought about in the separate life of Hungarian partly from old Uralic or Finno-Ugric endings and partly from autonomous forms with endings, through a loosely connected form of the postposition as a middle stage of development.

There is a view according to which only those suffixes can be regarded as case endings which are integrated into the formal system of the noun to a great extent and can thus be combined with the inner suffixes of the noun: the plural and the possessive personal ending (1 to 17 in the above list). The ending *-stul*, for example, which cannot be added to the suffixes of the noun is excluded from the system of case endings according to this view. In our opinion a much more important criterion in the distinction of case endings and derivational suffixes (as indicated at the beginning of

this chapter) is the ability of changing or closing the part of speech respectively. This view is also closer to the traditional conception.

The locative *-t/-tt* can be added to names of places: *Hódmezővásárhely-t, Győrö-tt.*

The Adjective and the Numeral. In Hungarian, case endings can be added to the adjective. For this reason the noun and the adjective together with the numeral and the pronoun are subsumed in the class of nominals. The numeral can carry the same case endings as the adjective: *szép-nek, öt-nek.*

The characteristic ending of the adjective and the numeral is the modal—essive *-an/-en: gyors-an* 'quickly', *okos-an* 'cleverly', *szép-en* 'beautifully', *ügyes-en* 'skilfully', *hat-an* 'six', *húsz-an* 'twenty', *négy-en* 'four', *keves-en* 'few'. Formerly *-t* also had this meaning with adjectives: *szorgalmas-t* (today: *szorgalmas-an*). The modal—essive ending *-lag/-leg* occurred only sporadically during the earlier period and occurs even today but rarely: *véges-leg* (today: *vég-leg* 'finally'), *közös-leg* (today: *közös-en* 'together'). Today: *alkalmi-lag* 'occasionally', *egyidejű-leg* 'at the same time'.

The suffix of the numeral is *-szor/-szer/-ször* which developed from the noun *-szer* meaning 'row, order'. It can be followed by other formants: *három-szor-os, három-szor-i.*

The Pronouns. The parallelism between semantic and formal units which is a specific feature of Hungarian is also characteristic of the system of Hungarian pronouns.

1. The plural forms of the personal pronouns are variants of the Uralic singular pronouns *mä, tä, sä,* or they are a form to which the Finno-Ugric plural suffix *-k* is added.

	singular		plural	
1. person:	*én*	'I'	*mi*	'we'
2. person:	*te*	'you'	*ti*	'you'
3. person:	*ő*	'he, she, it'	*ők*	'they'

2. The agglutinative structure of the possessive pronouns is shown clearly even today by the 1st person plural form *mi-é-nk.*

The situation in the other persons was originally similar. But these have changed to a lesser or greater extent:

én-é-m →	*enyém*	'my'			
te-é-d →	*tiéd*	'your'	*te-é-tek* →	*tiétek*	'your'
ő-é →	*övé*	'his'	*ő-é-k* →	*övék*	'their'

3. Reflexive pronouns which in Hungarian also have a non-reflexive function, namely that of emphasizing the personal pronouns, are forms of the word *mag* 'pit, nucleus', a possessive personal suffix:

mag-am (-at)	'myself'	*mag-unk (-at)*	'ourselves'
mag-ad (-at)	'yourself'	*mag-a-tok (-at)*	'yourselves'
mag-á (-t)	'himself'	*mag-uk (-at)*	'themselves'

The use of the accusative ending is obligatory in a reflexive function. Formerly forms without the accusative ending could also be the objects of the sentence.

4. The system of demonstrative pronouns is determined by front and back vowels which correspond to the opposition near : far.

substantival	*e-z*	'this'	*a-z*	'that'
adjectival	*i-ly*	'such' 'this kind'	*o-ly*	'that kind'
	e-(k)kora	'this big'	*a-(k)kora*	'that big'
numerical	*e-(ny)nyi*	'this much'	*a-(ny)nyi*	'that much'
adverbial	*i-tt*	'here'	*o-tt*	'there'
	e-(k)kor	'at this time'	*a-(k)kor*	'at that time'
	i-gy	'this way'	*ú-gy*	'that way'

Case endings are usually added to the pronouns *ez*, *az* with regressive assimilation: *ez-ben* → *ebben*, *az-tól* → *attól*.

The definite article developed from the demonstrative pronoun after the 12th century as a result of a gradual development. In the Funeral Sermon demonstrative pronouns stand in place of the definite article. After the formation of the definite article the demonstrative pronouns were used only together with the article before the noun: *azt az embert* 'that man', *ettől a fiútól* 'from that boy'. In old Hungarian these attributive constructions of demonstrative pronouns were used without the article: *oz gimilstwl* (1200), *az napon* (14th cent.). The form *a* of the definite article is of a later origin. In the Jókai-kódex it is still very rare and the article *az* is used even before words beginning with consonants: *az ház, az fráter*.

In the old language the system of demonstrative pronouns was rich in synonyms: *azon, azanna, azanna, annya, ily, ilyen, ilyetén, ilynemű, ezilynemű*, etc.

5. The interrogative pronouns are the Finno-Ugric pronominal stems *ki-*, *mi-* and *ho-* and their derivatives:

ki	'who'	*mi*	'what	*ho-l*	'where'
ki-t	'who'	*mi-t*	'what'	*ho-nnan*	'where from'
ki-nek	'to whom'	*mi-nek*	'to what'	*ho-vá*	'where to'
ki-től	'from whom'	*mi-től*	'from what'		
		mi-lyen	'what kind'		
		me-(ny)nyi	'how many'		

6. The other pronouns are compounds of interrogative pronouns or of old indefinite pronouns with the same forms as the interrogative ones. In these compounds the interrogative-indefinite pronoun is the second constituent:

relative	*a*		*a*		
indefinite	*vala*		*vala*		
negative	*sem*		*se*		
selective	*bár*	+ [*ki*]	*bár*	+	[*hol*
selective	*akár*		*akár*		*honnan*
general	*minden*		*minden*		*hová*]

The pronominal stem *mi* and other forms connected with it can be added to anterior constituents, but not to *minden*.

$$\begin{bmatrix} a \\ vala \\ bár \\ \dots \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} mi \\ milyen \\ mely \\ mennyi \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} a \\ vala \\ bár \\ \dots \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} mikor \\ merre \\ meddig \end{bmatrix}$$

The same applies to *ki*, which can also follow *minden*.

This system of forms shows clearly the integration of adverbs into the system of pronouns.

Formal Types of Morphemes

Most stems in Hungarian in the period before the Conquest had only one form. In the first centuries after the Conquest sound changes did occur which brought about stem alternations. The most important ones are the following:

(a) Stem-final vowels disappeared from the end of the naked stem but remained in forms with suffixes, thus yielding such oppositions as in *vár* and *várot (→ várat)*, *potok (→ patak)* and *potokut (→ patakot)*. The vowel before the suffix thus originally belonged to the stem. Suffixes consisting of one consonant (*-t*, *-s*, *-m*, etc.) connected with a vowel to loanwords or to internally formed words entered the language at a later period and gave these vowels an anaptyctic role. The question whether these vowels belong to the stem or to the suffix was a highly controversial one among linguists. It is beyond doubt that the quality of the vowel connecting the stem with the suffixes in the course of the historical development is sometimes characteristic of the stem and sometimes of the suffix. It is characteristic of the stem: *ház-a-m*, *ház-a-s*, *ház-a-t*, *ház-a-k; barát-o-m*, *barát-o-t*, *barát-o-k*. It is characteristic of the suffix in *ház-u-nk*, *barát-u-nk; ház-o-n*, *barát-o-n*. The vowel characteristic of the suffix can be regarded as a part of the suffix *-unk*, *-on*. Originally it was not different from the vowel characteristic of the stem: *ház-o-nk*, *barát-o-nk*. Certain suffixes combine with verb stems through high vowels, certain suffixes through mid or low vowels: *ad-o-k*, *ad-j-o-n; mond-a-ni*, *mond-a-na*, *mond-a-nak*, *mond-a-sz*, *mond-j-a-m*, *mond-t-a-m*. For practical reasons these connecting vowels should be regarded as link vowels because they generally occur only if the phonetic context and the avoidance of consonant clusters make it necessary: *ad-k*, *ad-tt*, *mond-j-m*. Such clusters violate the rules of Hungarian consonant distribution. Within the word a cluster without a vowel is possible (*ad-t-a-m*, *ad-t-a-d*) because the two consonants belong to different syllables, but at the end of the word the consonant cluster is released: *ad-o-tt*. The link vowel has recently become a means of distinguishing substantival and adjectival stems: *vörösök* 'soldiers of the Red Army', viz. *vörösek* 'red' (in colour).

(b) The shortening of the stem-final vowel resulted in the stem alternations *fa : fát*, *csuda : csudák*, *medve : medvét*, because the stem-final vowel was not shortened before suffixes.

Only the two types of stems mentioned above have remained productive; that is, new words necessarily belong to one or the other of these stem types. For nouns (*pad : pad-ok*) and for verbs (*ad : ad-ok*) the linking vowel is mid (*o*).

Other sound changes have brought about stem alternations which contain more or few words. These, however, form a closed set today and are no longer productive.

(c) With the disappearance of the stem-final vowels the vowel within the stem has become longer. This is how stem alternations such as *út : utot (→ utat)*, *úr : urot (→ urat)*, *madár : madarat*, *kenyér : kenyeret* have come about.

(d) The disappearance of the vowel within the stem caused stem alternations of the type *bokor : bokrot* or *őriz : őrzi*. In this case the fuller forms *bokor* and *őriz* are opposed to the incomplete forms *bokr-*, *őrz-*.

(e) The insertion of an anaptyctic vowel in words ending in two consonants as a consequence of the disappearance of the stem-final vowel resulted in the same change: *tékozl-ok : tékozol*, *szerelm-es : szerelem*. Here the original forms are *tékozl* and *szerelm*. The Funeral Sermon form *hotolm* is *hatalom* today.

(f) The formation of the stem types with *-v* which can be divided into different subtypes is connected with (1) the disappearance of the stem-final vowel, (2) the appearance of *-v* or -. in word-final position, and (3) the loss of the internal vowel: *ló : lov-a-s*, *kő : köv-e-s*, *tó : tav-a-k*, *lő : löv-ö-k*, *nő : növ-ö-k*.

The number of words which belong to non-productive types of stems is constantly decreasing. Certain stem types have virtually died out: *bíró : bír-ák*, *fúj : fúvó*, *fől : fövő*. There is a definite tendency in Hungarian towards the levelling of stem variation and the use of stems with only one form.

The formal variations of suffixes are first of all connected with the laws of vowel harmony. A great number of those suffixes which contain vowels have two or three forms. Harmony is either back or front or, if the rule of labial assimilation is obeyed, three forms are involved: *ház-ban*, *kert-ben*, *ad-nak*, *kér-nek*; *három-szor*, *négy-szer*, *öt-ször*; *ad-tok*, *kér-tek*, *főz-tök*. Suffixes which developed late have only one form: *óra-kor*, *négy-kor*, *öt-kor*, *orvos-ként*, *ember-ként*, *pohár-féle*, *ruha-szerű*, etc.

In the old language the unassimilated endings and formants display an incomplete state of the process of agglutination, e.g., *három-szer*, *világ-bele*, *bua-beleül*, *pukul-nek*.

Among suffixes consisting of one consonant or vowel there are many that have only one form: *-t*, *-s*, *-m*, *-é*, *-i*, *-k*, etc. In some suffixes variants with long and short consonants have developed: *t : tt*, *b : bb*, *l : ll*.

The opposition of forms with and without *j* is quite frequent: *-a/-ja*, *-ú/-jú*, *-játok/-itek*, *-ják/-ik*, etc. This *j* has generally become part of the suffix as a hiatus-filler.

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THE LEXICAL STOCK OF HUNGARIAN

by

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THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIAN LEXICAL STOCK

1. Three decisive circumstances must be taken into consideration in an examination of the origin of the various lexical elements of Hungarian: (1) Hungarian, being a member of the Uralic → Finno-Ugric → Ugric family, derives its most ancient layers from the proto-languages designated by these terms, that is, from the period before the split of the proto-languages. (2) Throughout the course of their ethnic development, the Hungarians came in contact with many ethnic groups; at an earlier stage, prior to the Conquest period, they were in contact with the ancient inhabitants of the East European areas and during the more recent phases of their settled life in the Carpathian Basin they have been in touch with other nations of Central, Southern and Western Europe. Consequently, Hungarian has enriched its vocabulary with quantities of loanwords borrowed from these nations. (3) Separated from its nearest cognate languages some three thousand years ago, Hungarian followed a developmental course in isolation from theirs. As a result, a great number of words came into existence during this period of three thousand years' time, partly by outright creation of new lexical elements, and partly by secondary word-formation.

Accordingly, the Hungarian vocabulary can be divided into three etymological groups: (a) primitive (genuine) words; (b) foreign etymologies (loanwords); (c) specifically Hungarian etymologies, i.e. autonomous words. These three groups can be clearly discerned one from the other in principle; yet they show various degrees of interrelationship and overlapping. First, the primitive elements and the autonomous etymologies of the earliest periods are hard to distinguish in certain types, precisely because of the remoteness of time. Similar difficulties arise, though to a lesser extent, when it comes to the question of borrowed words. The most ancient layers of these were adopted during the period of co-existence, i.e., before the final separation of Hungarian from the cognate languages. Secondly, the methods of autonomous word-formation affected the primitive stock as well as a considerable part of borrowed words. Thus, a considerable portion of the autonomous words originate from the period of co-existence, or derived from bases borrowed from foreign tongues.

2. As is known, etymology and the chronology of words are closely connected with the social-cultural factors which decisively influence the shape of the vocabulary. It follows that the division of Hungarian vocabulary into superimposed layers of various origin must bring into relief those economic, social and cultural factors which constituted the foundation, the linguistic

background, necessary for the conceptual growth of the Hungarian stock of words. Therefore, such a division offers an opportunity for the assessment of what kinds of external and internal conditions have been responsible for the material and cultural development of the Hungarian nation. It can also be established what traces the influence of these conditions has left in the domain of Hungarian vocabulary.

As regards the major cultural changes, the following may be emphasized because of the powerful impact which they exercised on the evolving Hungarian lexicon: (1) The change from a gathering, hunting-fishing mode of life to a nomadic pastoral form; (2) stabled animal husbandry and plough tillage, and concomitant settling down of the population; (3) conversion to Christianity, urbanization, the growth of handicraft industry, commerce, trade, and the adoption of modern cultural standards; (4) rise of recent material and spiritual culture.

Events in these four spheres led to the appearance and growth of numerous characteristic groups of Hungarian words of the most diverse notional fields. We might even say that the problems of Hungarian etymology are functions in more than one respect of the mentioned factors and circumstances.

The Primitive (Ancient) Stock of Words

1. One of the papers in the present volume treats the prehistory of the Hungarian people and language. It describes the characteristic features, as well as the cultural and linguistic conditions of the pre-Uralic, Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric stages. The social, historical and cultural background of the words from these periods are elucidated by many examples in that paper. Therefore they need not be repeated here.

2. The methods and results of comparative linguistics make it possible for us to distinguish at least three groups of Hungarian lexical elements inherited from three subsequent stages of co-existence: (a) Uralic, (b) Finno-Ugric, (c) Ugric. With a view to differentiating according to degrees of affinity, in other words, chronological scales of separation, we speak of Uralic etymologies if the presence of the respective Hungarian lexical element can be demonstrated, besides the Finno-Ugric tongues, from the Samoyed as well. We regard as Finno-Ugric etymologies those words that have no Uralic counterparts and have cognates only among the Finno-Ugric languages. Finally, all Hungarian words which have cognates in at least one Ob-Ugric language are considered Ob-Ugric etymologies. This time-scale is not absolute but provides a terminus post quem character, since a sizable part of the primitive, genuine words (or at least stems) can be reduced to stages so early as to be hardly definable by linguistic means, their ages being subject to guesses rather than to precise calculation.

A steady increase in the sources of Uralic—Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics (first of all a large-scale growth of word- and text-collections of some of the minor cognate languages), coupled with the development of comparative theory and methods, has made it possible to trace the primitive stock of Hungarian words to earlier stages. Thanks to these, the past

decades have witnessed a remarkable advance of Uralic (Finno-Ugric—Samoyed) comparative studies which have already verified the earlier existence of those Hungarian words which have so far been demonstrable from the Finno-Ugric period only.

According to the current state of Uralic—Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics, some one thousand lexical elements of the Hungarian language seem to have ancient etymologies. So many words or stems can be linked up with one or another of the above three periods. The majority of these belong to the middle, i.e. the Finno-Ugric period. There is no need to discuss them here since they will be introduced in great abundance below where the semantic categories of the primitive vocabulary are discussed. However, the Uralic and the Ugric layers require particular mention.

There are over a hundred Hungarian words whose etymologies can be traced back to the Uralic period. Pronouns, i.e., pronominal roots are predominant among them. In subsequent times these ramified into a complex set. Personal pronouns: *én* 'I', *te* 'you', etc.; demonstrative pronouns: *e* 'this' (:> *ez* 'this', *itt* 'here', *így* 'thus', etc.), *a* 'that' (:> *az* 'that', *ott* 'there', *úgy* 'so', etc.); interrogative pronouns: *ho-* 'which, what' (:> *hol?* 'where?', *hogy?* 'how?', *hová?* 'where to?', etc.). The verbs refer to the most primitive life functions or actions: *él* 'live', *hal* 'die', *megy* 'go', *nyel* 'swallow', *fúj* 'blow', *mar* 'bite', etc. The group of nouns includes names of natural phenomena: *víz* 'water', *tó* 'lake', *hó* 'snow', etc.; names of animals: *hal* 'fish', *nyúl* 'hare, rabbit', *nyű* 'maggot'; members of the human body: *szem* 'eye', *máj* 'liver', *szív* 'heart', etc.; and kinship terms: *vő* 'son-in-law', *meny* 'daughter-in-law', etc. Words of this kind are reasonably regarded as belonging to the earliest elements of Hungarian vocabulary.

The earliest group of genuine Hungarian words originating from the Ugric stage consists of about one hundred lexical elements. Among the denominations of some primitive notions, actions and objects in this group, we find words which directly refer to an acquaintance with primitive forms of horse-keeping: *ló* 'horse', *fék* 'brake, curb', *ostor* 'whip', *nyereg* 'saddle', *kengyel* 'stirrup'. This period also increases the number of adjectives and adverbs: *jó* 'good', *mély* 'deep', *könnyű* 'light', etc.; *ki* 'out', *át* 'through', *túl* 'beyond, over', etc.

3. In agreement with the primitive economic, etc. relations of the Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric periods, the ancient Hungarian vocabulary contains notions of a fairly primitive mode of living. As expressions of a concomitant way of thinking, the individual words denote fundamental concepts connected with man's ideas about himself and his surroundings. Some groups of these words, however, are indicative of a certain degree of expansion of the sphere of knowledge: differentiation, abstract thinking and concepts connected with labour begin to assert themselves more powerfully.

The most typical categories of Hungarian words of primitive origin will be represented here by some arbitrarily chosen elements, without any claim to completeness.

A considerable part of the primitive Hungarian verbs refer to elementary phenomena, actions or perceptions: *van* 'it is', *lesz* 'it will be', *szül* 'she

bears', *áll* 'he stands', *ül* 'he sits'; *eszik* 'he eats', *iszik* 'he drinks', *fal* 'he swallows, devours'; *hall* 'he hears', *néz* 'he sees', *les* 'he watches', *mond* 'he says', *sír* 'he weeps'; *ad* 'he gives', *fog* 'he catches', *dug* 'he thrusts', *tesz* 'he puts'; *csíp* 'he pinches', *nyom* 'he presses', *tép* 'he tears', *töm* 'he stuffs'; *ég* 'it burns', *esik* 'it rains', *virrad* 'it dawns'; etc. Several verbs serve to denote primitive labour processes: *irt* 'he extinguishes sg.', *nyír* 'he shears', *vág* 'he cuts'; *vés* 'he carves', *hord* 'he carries', *lő* 'he shoots'; *fon* 'he spins', *köt* 'he knits', *varr* 'he sews', *mos* 'he washes', *süt* 'he bakes'; etc. Mostly abstract actions are expressed by the following group of verbs: *vár* 'he waits', *tud* 'he knows', *akar* 'he wants', *kér* 'he asks for sg.', *kell* 'it must be', *olvas* 'he reads' (originally 'enumerates'), etc.

Numerically, the category of substantives is the largest. The most primitive layer of nouns can be grouped around four foci of concepts. The first refers to the parts of human body: *fej* 'head', *orr* 'nose', *száj* 'mouth', *áll* 'chin', *váll* 'shoulder', *mell* 'chest, bust', *láb* 'foot', *kéz* 'hand', *ujj* 'finger'; *szőr* 'hair', *bőr* 'skin', *var* 'scab'; *bél* 'bowels', *vese* 'kidney', *epe* 'bile', *vér* 'blood', *velő* 'marrow'; etc. The second group relates to kinship terminology: *apa* 'father', *anya* 'mother', *fiú* 'son', *leány* 'daughter', *öcs* 'younger brother'; *férfi* 'man', *nő* 'woman', *férj* 'husband', *árva* 'orphan'; etc. The third category consists of those words which are related to place or position: *al* 'lower part', *el* 'front part', *mög* 'back part, sg. situated behind sg.', *köz* 'intermediate part', *szél* 'fringe, border', *bal* 'left side', *sor* 'row, line', etc. The fourth group concerns natural objects and phenomena: *ég* 'heaven, sky', *éj* 'night', *fény* 'light', *hold* 'moon'; *jég* 'ice', *köd* 'fog, mist', *felhő* 'cloud'; *nyár* 'summer', *tél* 'winter', *év* 'year'; *hab* 'foam', *ár* 'tide, flood', *láp* 'swamp'; *hegy* 'mountain', *domb* 'hillock', *lyuk* 'hole, burrow', *kő* 'stone'; *tűz* 'fire', *hamu* 'ash'; etc.

The words referring to the flora or fauna of the natural environment represent the elementary terms of a primitive gathering, hunting-fishing mode of living (there is not a single word to point to agriculture, not even in its most primitive form): *fa* 'tree', *gyökér* 'root', *ág* 'branch', *héj* 'bark'; *hárs* 'linden-tree', *fenyő* 'fir', *nyír* 'birch-tree', *szil* 'elm-tree'; *hagyma* 'bulb, onion', *bogyó* 'berry', *meggy* 'sour cherry, morello', *eper* 'mulberry'; etc. Zoological terms have, as a rule, nothing to do with the notions connected with stock-breeding, except for the above-mentioned words referring to horse-raising in the Ugric period: *róka* 'fox', *hód* 'beaver', *sün* 'hedgehog'; *keszeg* 'carp-bream', *kígyó* 'snake'; *fajd* 'blackgrouse', *lúd* 'goose', *holló* 'raven'; *méh* 'bee', *légy* 'fly', *hangya* 'ant', *szú* 'wood-worm'; etc. Apart from the terms of horse-breeding, the existence of the name *eb* 'dog' may perhaps be taken as an indication of some interest in domesticated animals.

A major group of highly variegated nouns developed to denote those concepts which are connected with man's everyday life: habitation, equipment, tools, food, clothing, weapons, etc. For example: *ház* 'house' (originally 'hut'), *fal* 'wall' (originally 'wicker'), *ágy* 'bed'; *hajó* 'ship (originally 'boat, canoe'), *háló* 'net', *nyárs* 'spit', *kés* 'knife'; *kenyér* 'bread', *köles* 'millet', *lé* 'soup'; *öv* 'belt', *szíj* 'strap', *szalag* 'ribbon'; *nyíl* 'arrow', *íj* 'bow'; etc. The names of certain metals indicate an interest taken in this line: *vas* 'iron', *ón* 'tin', *ólom* 'lead', *arany* 'gold', *ezüst* 'silver'; etc.

Adjectives, both concrete and abstract, are represented in abundance in the category of primitive substantives: *nagy* 'big', *hosszú* 'long', *sovány* 'lean, thin', *kemény* 'hard', *lágy* 'soft', *meleg* 'warm', *keserű* 'bitter', *fekete* 'black'; *agg* 'old', *vén* 'aged, old', *öreg* 'old, big', *sok* 'many', *új* 'new', *ifjú* 'young'; etc.

As regards other word categories, the primitive stock of Hungarian words includes, besides the above-mentioned old pronominal roots, numerals and certain types of adverbs. Here belong the cardinal numbers from *egy* 'one' to *hét* 'seven', the names of the multiples of ten: *húsz* 'twenty', *harminc* 'thirty', *negyven* 'forty', etc.; and *száz* 'hundred'. In addition to the adverbs of the Ugric period mentioned above, we may list here: *le* 'downward', *fel* 'upward', *messze* 'far', *kívül* 'outside', *túl* 'beyond, over', etc. as belonging to the ancient stock of words. Some of the most common words expressing negation or prohibition also belong here: *nem* 'no', *ne* 'not (prohibitive)'.

4. As appears from the foregoing, the categories of verbs and substantives play the leading role in the Hungarian vocabulary inherited from the period before the disintegration. Dealing with the grammatical categories of the primitive Hungarian vocabulary, we have to emphasize the fact that a considerable number of root morphemes display an ambivalent grammatical character. These have been used or are still being used as both nouns and verbs: *les* 'watches' (used as a verb) and *les* 'stalking, ambush' (noun), *fagy* 'it freezes' (verb) and *fagy* 'frost' (noun); *nyom* 'press, weigh' (verb) and *nyom* 'trail' (noun), *lep* 'cover' (verb) and *lep* 'veil, cover' (noun), *fen* 'whet' (verb) and *fen* 'whetstone' (noun), etc. There are over half a hundred of such ambivalent root morphemes demonstrable from the Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric periods, and their number may have been still greater in the more remote periods, which are hard to tackle by linguistic methods. Yet their abundance cannot be interpreted to mean that the vast majority of the ancient stock of Hungarian words did not represent one or another specific grammatical category.

5. The Hungarian vocabulary inherited from the period of co-existence of the cognate languages has a special morphological structure. The reasons for this are to be sought in the particular linguistic conditions of the Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric periods.

The words of the Proto-Uralic language were, as a rule, one- or two-syllable words ending in a short vowel. The mono- or bisyllabic quality was linked with certain formal or functional facts: it was expressive of a number of grammatical, and concomitant morphological, semantic and syntactic differences. Monosyllabic words were mainly interjections and pronouns, while bisyllabic words were verbs and substantives and partly noun-verbs.

The structural character of Uralic words suffered considerable changes in subsequent periods, mainly in the Ugric stage, when more lexical elements came into existence through word-formation. Nevertheless, their structure continued to be basically determined in these periods by the primitive morphological quality of one- or two-syllable character. It is well known that short root-ending vowels were dropped in absolute

final position and before certain formative suffixes in a subsequent developmental stage of the Hungarian language. Therefore formerly bisyllabic words were shortened to one syllable. This explains why a considerable portion of the ancient Hungarian vocabulary has been preserved — inasmuch as they survived in their morphologically original forms — as monosyllabic words until today (*lát* 'he sees', *hab* 'foam, wave', *nagy* 'big', *egy* 'one', etc.).

On the other hand, there are Hungarian words of ancient origin that contain two or possibly more syllables. Two principal types of these can be distinguished. Part of them appeared, through word-formation or, more rarely, through compounding, in the Finno-Ugric or the Ugric period, and remained long after their root-ending vowels were lost: *arasz* 'span', *kenyér* 'bread', *magyar* 'Hungarian', *vékony* 'thin', *könnyű* 'light', etc. Words of this type acquired their morphological shape during the period when Hungarian had not yet separated from its relatives. In another group of genuine Hungarian words of ancient origin only a monosyllabic root morpheme can be reduced to those early stages; this root morpheme, however, did not survive in itself but in some augmented form which arose at a subsequent stage of linguistic development, mostly in the separate Hungarian period. For example, only the anterior constituent *köny(ö)* 'elbow' of the Hungarian word *könyök* can be derived from the Finno-Ugric period; its suffixed form must have received *-k* in the Hungarian stage, since no monosyllabic variant of the word has been discovered in the early written records of the language. Further examples are: *fazék* 'pot', *ágyék* 'loin', *titok* 'secret', *kemény* 'hard', *sötét* 'dark'; *forog* 'he revolves', *emel* 'he lifts', *tanul* 'he learns', *nevet* 'he laughs'; etc. Taken in their present-day morphological structures, these words are, as a matter of course, very early internal developments. They are grouped together with the primitive lexical stock only because their roots, which cannot be demonstrated from Hungarian, must have come into existence during the Uralic, the Finno-Ugric, or the Ugric period.

6. Measured in absolute numbers, the genuine elements inherited from the periods of Uralic, Finno-Ugric, and Ugric symbiosis represent an overwhelming proportion of the Hungarian lexical stock and constitute the basis of intra-lingual developments, i.e., the bulk of the entire Hungarian vocabulary. This question will be dealt with in more detail below, where the general problems of Hungarian vocabulary will be surveyed and the relations of etymological categories examined.

Foreign Etymologies of the Lexical Stock

Iranian Loanwords

1. Investigations into Iranian loanwords in Hungarian, i.e., the solidity of the results obtainable, are seriously endangered by certain circumstances. For example, the ancestors of the Hungarian people came in contact with various Iranian peoples at a very early stage of their ethnic development. The results of these contacts are represented by the earliest borrowings

in the Hungarian language, as far as we can judge at present. Several, partly extinct, Iranian languages which could contribute to the understanding of the nature of these contacts are not thoroughly known to us. Difficulties in determining correspondences of vocabulary with these Iranian languages raise other problems. Owing to such reasons we have hardly more than a dozen of the supposedly numerous Iranian etymologies which can be verified or at least plausibly supported.

2. Iranian contacts came about as early as the Finno-Ugric and the Ugric period, as proved by words such as: *arany* 'gold', *hét* 'week', etc. Words of this class, however, are listed along with the ancient inheritance of the Hungarian language, in compliance with the above statements.

Hungarian—Iranian contacts did not cease during the separate existence of the Hungarian language. While staying in the forest belt of the South Ural, in the region of the Uralian Pass (ca. from the tenth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.), the Hungarians lived in the neighbourhood of some Scythian and Sarmatian peoples who belonged to the Iranian language group. In all likelihood, trading contacts of the more primitive type may have developed between them. The early Iranian—Hungarian contacts acquainted the Hungarians with certain initial notions of stock-breeding. First of all, terms such as *tehén* 'cow', *tej* 'milk' should be considered here. Perhaps *öszvér* 'mule', *szekér* 'cart' are also of Iranian origin, but these are less supported etymologies. In the notional sphere of stock-breeding we find the Iranian word *nemez* 'felt, cloth', which originally meant 'compressed wool'. The same Iranian layer includes the numeral *tíz* 'ten'.

3. Having left the Uralian Pass for more southerly regions, the Hungarians moved to the plains situated north of the Caucasus, more precisely to the region of the Kuban river, where they came into contact with further Iranian peoples, mainly Alanic ethnic groups. These groups (related to the Scythians and ancestors of present-day Ossetes) had a fairly developed culture at that time. The memories of contacts with the Alanic people survived in Hungarian legends well after the Conquest period. The first Hungarian—Alanic contact, which took place long before the Conquest time, was followed by a second one in the thirteenth century; along with the Cumanians certain groups of Orthodox Alans, also named Yas, migrated into Hungary. According to the testimony of a linguistic record, they spoke Alanic as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century.

It might be inferred from the last statement that Alanic words could have found their way into the Hungarian language after the Conquest period, i.e. in the Carpathian Basin. Nevertheless, all of the certain Alanic etymologies in Hungarian date from the first contact during the sojourn of the Hungarians in the Kuban region, e.g., *asszony* 'woman' (earlier: 'princess, queen'), *híd* 'bridge', *vért* 'armour, cuirass'. Less certain etymologies are: *verem* 'pit', *méreg* 'poison', *üveg* 'glass', *gazdag* 'rich', etc.

4. The early Hungarians maintained connections with the Persians as well, though these were less extensive than those with the other

Iranian peoples, primarily with the Alans. The forefathers of the Hungarians never lived in the immediate vicinity of Persian territories, but from the seventh century A.D. onwards, trade in the Pontus region was in Persian hands. Thus Persian merchants frequented the settlements of the Hungarians. Memories of such linguistic contacts are: *vár* 'fortress', *vásár* 'fair, market', *vám* 'customs'.

Turkic Loanwords

1. The connections of the Hungarians with various Turkic-speaking peoples cover a long period of various phases, and involve several Turkic languages. The beginnings reach far back to the pre-history of the Hungarian nation, i.e., to the period of coexistence with related peoples. Notably many a Turkic word entered Proto-Ugric, e.g., *ló* 'horse', *hattyú* 'swan', *hód* 'beaver', *szó* 'word', etc. The last phase of these contacts is separated from the first by several thousand years, since it falls into the period of the Turkish occupation of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus the Hungarian language was repeatedly influenced by various Turkic languages in the protracted period between the two extremes, the most profuse influx of words having taken place during the centuries before the Conquest.

2. Following the Ugric disintegration, the Hungarian—Turkic connections must have been rather loose in the South Uralic country of the Hungarians. Very few Turkic loanwords can be dated to a very early stage of Hungarian separation: *harang* 'bell', *homok* 'sand', etc.

The situation changed radically when the Hungarians, yielding to the pressure of eastern nations in the second half of the fifth century A.D., left the Uralian Pass behind them and moved south-southwest towards the Pontus region. From that time on, while pursuing their pastoral nomadic mode of life interrupted now and then by temporary periods of settlement, the Hungarians came into repeated contact with Turkic peoples. What is more, some of them seem to have subjugated Hungarians for some time. Very strong, so to speak uninterrupted, Hungarian—Turkic contacts were in force from the end of the fifth century to the end of the ninth century, leaving considerable traces in Hungarian vocabulary.

The Turkic peoples (Onogurs, Volgaic Bulgars, the Bulgars of the Pontus region, Turks, Khazars, etc.), that came in contact with Hungarians were for the most part pastoral and equestrian nomads distinguished by a highly developed military organization of their own. Some groups of them (mainly those belonging to the ruling classes of the Turk and especially the Khazar empire) were also engaged in agriculture in their more or less permanent places of settlement.

None of the so-called Old-Turkic loanwords borrowed from the tongues of these peoples can be more precisely determined in the etymological sense. The reason for this lies in the long span of time that has elapsed and partly in the high degree of lexical agreement between the various Turkic languages, some of which became, to make things worse, extinct in

the meanwhile. What can be achieved on the basis of phonetic evidence is hardly more than identifying for some of them which of the two major language types they derived from: the Chuvash Turkic or the Common Turkic group. In this respect, the Hungarian words adopted from Old-Turkic seem to suggest that Chuvash had a greater influence on pre-Conquest Hungarian than the Common Turkic could ever exercise. Such Turkic loanwords showing Chuvashian character are *karó* 'stake, pale', *sár* 'mud', *tűr* 'he suffers', *sárga* 'yellow', *sarló* 'sickle', *szűcs* 'fur-dresser', *szérű* 'threshing yard', *szél* 'wind', *dél* 'south, noon', *gyom* 'weed', etc.

The great variety of the conceptual spheres in which some three hundred Old-Turkic words were adopted by Hungarians during the period from the fifth to ninth centuries speaks eloquently of the multilateral influence which the various Turkic peoples exerted upon the pre-Conquest Hungarians in numerous fields of their economic, social and political life. This influence greatly contributed to the fact that a formerly hunting-fishing people of the forests developed into a pastoral nomadic nation by the time they appeared in the southern steppe areas of Europe. Accordingly, the major part of the Old-Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language indicate — in contrast to the primitive features reflected by the genuine stock of words — a cultural change-over to a new way of life. They are called culture-words.

A prominent role is played by stock-breeding terms in this new vocabulary. Most of these words refer to names of (a) animals: *bika* 'bull', *ökör* 'ox', *borjú* 'calf', *ünő* 'young cow, heifer', *tinó* 'young ox'; *kos* 'ram', *kecske* 'goat', *disznó* 'pig', *ártány* 'barrow', *teve* 'camel'; etc.; (b) animal products: *túró* 'curd', *sajt* 'cheese'; *gyapjú* 'wool', *sörte* 'bristle', etc.; (c) equipment, tools and objects related to stock-breeding: *ól* 'sty, stable', *karám* 'pen', *tengely* 'axle', *gyeplő* 'rein', *béklyó* 'tether', *kantár* 'bridle', etc. — By the side of these, names of wild animals also entered Hungarian from the Turkic: *oroszlán* 'lion', *bölény* 'bison', *borz* 'badger', *görény* 'polecat', *ürge* 'souslik'; *ölyv* 'buzzard', *karvaly* 'sparrow hawk', *keselyű* 'vulture', *sólyom* 'falcon', *túzok* 'bustard'; *béka* 'frog', *süllő* 'pike-perch'; etc.

The Hungarians acquired certain agricultural elements which were higher than rudimentary from the Turkic peoples, which they utilized either as a systematic and regular occupation when staying at a place of settlement for a longer time, or as a temporary source of subsistence, secondary to nomadic pasturing. This is brought out by names of certain cereals, fibre crops and other plants: *búza* 'wheat', *árpa* 'barley', *borsó* 'peas', *kender* 'hemp', *komló* 'hop', *csalán* 'nettle', etc.; names of fruits: *alma* 'apple', *körte* 'pear', *dió* 'nut', *gyümölcs* 'fruit', etc.; several terms of viticulture: *szőlő* 'grape, vine', *bor* 'wine', *seprő* 'lees of wine', *szűr* 'strain, filter', etc.; technical terms for processing fibre plants: *tiló* 'hempbreaker', *csepű* 'oakum', *orsó* 'spindle', etc.; and other names (of tools, products, etc.) connected with plant-growing: *eke* 'plough', *sarló* 'sickle', *tarló* 'stubble-field', *dara* 'groats', etc. — Naturally, a number of wild-plant names were also adopted from the Turkic languages: *som* 'cornel', *kökény* 'blackthorn', *kőris* 'ash-tree'; *káka* 'rush', *gyékény* 'bulrush', *üröm* 'wormwood', *torma* 'horse radish'; *bojtorján* 'burweed', *kóró* 'dry stalk of weed'; etc.

Names referring to places of settlement, whether nomadic or of a more stable, agricultural character, and names related to furnishings of the habitation: *sátor* 'tent', *kapu* 'gate', *szék* 'chair', *bölcső* 'cradle', etc. A transition to a higher educational level is indicated by names of artisans borrowed from Turkic languages: *ács* 'carpenter', *szűcs* 'fur-dresser', *szatócs* 'grocer', etc.; names of tools, products and working processes: *gyűszű* 'thimble'; *gyárt* 'he fabricates', *gyúr* 'he kneads, moulds', *teker* 'he winds, twists', etc.; notions connected with clothing: *köpönyeg* 'gown, mantle', *saru* 'sandal', *csat* 'clasp, clips', *bársony* 'velvet', *ölt* 'he dons', etc.

Many a Turkic loanword has come from the social, moral and religious spheres of life: *tanú* 'witness', *bér* 'wages', *tor* 'funeral feast', *gyász* 'mourning'; *boszorkány* 'witch', *sárkány* 'dragon'; *gyón* 'he confesses', *bocsát* 'he dismisses sy, forgives sg.', *gyaláz* 'he abuses sy', etc. Several words refer to other aspects of intellectual activity: *betű* 'letter, character', *szám* 'number', *ír* 'he writes'; *bölcs* 'wise', *tolmács* 'interpreter'; *idő* 'time', *kor* 'age'; etc.

Apart from culture terms, there are loanwords borrowed from more primitive conceptual spheres to show how strong and deep the Turkic influence was upon the pre-Conquest Hungarian language. We may refer here to several names denoting parts of the human body or other concepts related to it: *kar* 'arm', *térd* 'knee', *boka* 'ankle', *gyomor* 'stomach', *köldök* 'navel', *szakáll* 'beard'; *csipa* 'gum of eyes', *szeplő* 'freckle', etc. Many adjectives referring partly to physical and partly to mental features have been borrowed from Turkic languages: *kis* 'small, little', *tar* 'bald', *bő* 'loose, rich', *bátor* 'bold', *gyáva* 'coward', *gyarló* 'poor quality, inferior'; etc. Colour names belong here too: *kék* 'blue', *sárga* 'yellow', etc.

3. The Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin can be regarded as an epoch-marking event from the point of view of Hungarian—Turkic relations, since it resulted in the liberation of the Hungarians from the immediate influence of the steppe Turks. In the post-Conquest centuries, the Hungarian—Turkic linguistic relations assumed a more incidental character, restricted to peoples whose languages are fairly well known to us. We know, for instance, that larger Pecheneg groups moved into Hungary during the tenth to eleventh centuries and settled permanently in the frontier regions. Masses of Cumanians received admission into the central parts of the Great Plain in the thirteenth century. A Mohammedan group of Turks named Khaliz (Ismailites) played an important part in Hungarian trade of the post-Conquest centuries. These ethnic groups were assimilated within a few centuries, but prior to their final assimilation they also enriched Hungarian by several words of Turkic origin.

Cumanian, i.e. Pecheneg loanwords are, among others, *kun* 'Cumanian', *orosz* 'Russian', *komondor* 'a species of dog', *csősz* 'field-guard', *kalauz* 'guide, conductor', *koboz* 'lute', etc. Khaliz sources may be suspected in connection with: *maszlag* 'thorn-apple', *díj* 'prize, reward', etc.

4. In consequence of the expansion of Osmanli (Ottoman) power over the Balkans towards the end of the Middle Ages and occupation of parts of Hungary in the sixteenth century, the Hungarians had to

face a new kind of contact with the Turks. During the fifteenth century, these connections were occasional and temporary in nature, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when a considerable portion of the country was occupied by the Turks, they became more stable and much more immediate. The donors in this Ottoman linguistic influence were represented by Turkish soldiers, officials, tax-collectors, merchants, etc. Their counterparts were the Hungarian defenders of border fortresses, and Hungarian clerks (literati) who mastered the Turkish language, and in general, that portion of the Hungarian nation which remained and lived in the areas occupied by the Turks. At the same time, we must remember that a part of the linguistic influence was mediated by the Balkan Slavs, primarily by the Serbo-Croatian vernaculars.

The number of words borrowed from the Ottomans (Osmanli Turks) is roughly thirty. Earlier, however, especially during the long decades of Turkish occupation, considerably more Turkish words were commonly used in Hungarian. These were subsequently either completely lost or they were so isolated as to sink to the dialectal level.

The Ottoman influence can be restricted to a few notional spheres: clothing: *dolmány* 'dolman', *kalpag* 'calpack, hat', *zseb* 'pocket', *kefe* 'brush', *papucs* 'slippers', etc.; food: *kávé* 'coffee', *tarhonya* 'granulated dried pastry made of flour and eggs', *bogrács* 'kettle', *findzsa* 'cup', *tepsi* 'frying-pan', etc.; weapons, tools, phrases: *handzsár* 'poniard', *korbács* 'scourge', *harács* 'booty', *kaszabol* 'he massacres', etc.; names of institutions and authorities: *szandzsák* 'Turkish administrative district', *basa* 'pasha', *bég* 'bey', etc. Other words suggest Serbo-Croatian mediation: *dutyi* 'prison, jail', *dalia* 'warrior', *betyár* 'highwayman', *haramia* 'robber', etc.

Slavonic Loanwords

1. The Hungarians came in contact with certain Slavonic peoples before the Conquest period. In the last stage of their migration, i.e. in the ninth century, they maintained connections of a comparatively loose character with the peoples of the Duke of Kiev, Russians and Ukrainians living in the South Russian plains.

Hungarian—Slavonic linguistic contacts became much closer following the Conquest. The conquering Hungarians found Slavonic ethnic groups in many parts of the Carpathian Basin whose languages cannot be further identified. Their majority probably belonged to the southern Slavonic language group. As regards cultural standards, these Slavonic peoples differed from the Hungarians who at that time pursued a semi-nomadic way of living. In the Transdanubian regions mainly, the Hungarians encountered some Slavs distinguished by a somewhat higher economic and cultural level, these being settled farmers and stock-breeders. They were also Christians. Wherever the settling Hungarians came to preponderate numerically, these Slavonic groups were assimilated during the post-Conquest centuries.

Neither did the Hungarian—Slavonic connections stop in times following the very close contacts during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Hun-

garian people had Slavonic neighbours in the North and in the South. This situation has not changed during the thousand years that have passed since. Protracted contact asserted itself, as a matter of course, through more than one channel, beside the linguistic influence of immediate vicinity. For instance, Slavonic priests participated in the christening of Hungarians; the intermarriage of ruling houses; common peasant movements and wars; resettlements of Slavonic ethnic groups in Hungarian-inhabited areas; etc.

2. It goes without saying that, owing to continuing linguistic contact, the uninterrupted influx of Slavonic words into the Hungarian language was bound to assume unusual proportions. Constituting the largest groups of loanwords in Hungarian, their number exceeds five hundred in literary and common usage. If we also consider dialects they amount to fifteen hundred.

As concerns chronology, the earliest Slavonic layer of loanwords probably originates from pre-Conquest times: *halom* 'hillock, mound', *görög* 'Greek', *lengyel* 'Polish', etc. may have been borrowed from Russian. There is also a very recent layer of Russian origin which reflects the changes that ensued in political terminology after World War II: *szovjet* 'council', *kolhoz* 'kolkhoz', *kulák* 'kulak', etc. The bulk of Slavonic loanwords lie in between the two extreme layers. Undoubtedly, what counts most both qualitatively and quantitatively was the period of a few centuries following the years of the Conquest. The majority of the generally accepted Slavonic borrowings can be demonstrated to date from that period.

As is known, the term Slavonic has a summary character, denoting a family of several languages. Of course, Hungarian has maintained connections with different Slavonic languages. Unfortunately, a high degree of similitude of the various Slavonic vocabularies and the remoteness of dates of borrowings prevent research from precisely identifying the languages involved; only a minor portion of loanwords permit us to examine them more closely from the viewpoint of etymology. This is why we must content ourselves with the rather comprehensive term, Slavonic, applied to this broad layer of loanwords.

All this does not mean that we have failed to find the immediate origin of a comparatively great number of Slavonic loanwords. It has been positively established, for example, that Hungarian has borrowed from Bulgarian: *mesgye* 'path', *mostoha* 'step-mother or father', *rozsda* 'rust', etc.; from Serbo-Croatian: *gatya* 'pants', *paprika* 'red-pepper, paprika', *róna* 'plains', etc.; from Slovenian: *naspolya* 'medlar', *lencse* 'lentils', *gally* 'twig, bough', etc.; from Slovak: *kasza* 'scythe', *kazal* 'rick, stack', *poloska* 'bedbug', etc.; from Polish: *galuska* 'dumplings', *bricska* 'buggy', *szamorodni* 'a kind of Tokay wine', etc.

3. The total of Slavonic loanwords in Hungarian reveals a varied notional composition. Connected with several spheres of human activity, these loans exemplify the thoroughgoing economic, social and cultural influence the Slavonic peoples exerted on the Hungarians during the past ten hundred years.

The ancestors of the Hungarians learned from Slavonic peoples how to apply a higher technique of agriculture by means of the plough. Quite a number of words testify to this: words taken from the field of cereal production: *barázda* 'furrow', *parlag* 'fallow, uncultivated field', *csoroszlya* 'coulter'; *rozs* 'rye', *zab* 'oats', *gabona* 'corn'; *csép* 'flail', *szalma* 'straw', *polyva* 'chaff'; *kapál* 'he hoes'; etc.; words relating to fibre-plant growing and processing: *len* 'flax', *pozdorja* 'harl of hemp', *gereben* 'flaxcomb', *guzsaly* 'staff', etc.; horticulture: *bab* 'beans', *lencse* 'lentils', *uborka* 'cucumber', *káposzta* 'cabbage', *retek* 'radish', *cékla* 'beetroot', etc.; hay-making: *széna* 'hay', *kasza* 'scythe', *gereblye* 'rake', *villa* 'fork', *kazal* 'stack', etc. Hungarian vocabulary has considerably increased by borrowing Slavonic plant terms not closely connected with man's regular plant-growing activity. Such are for example, the fruit names: *cseresznye* 'cherry', *barack* 'apricot', *szilva* 'plum', *málna* 'raspberry', *berkenye* 'sorb apple', etc.; names of forest trees: *jegenye* 'poplar', *juhar* 'maple', *cser* 'Turkey oak', *bodza* 'elder', etc.; other botanical names: *gomba* 'mushroom', *páfrány* 'fern', *moha* 'moss', etc.

In addition to the terms of hay-making, a more intensive type of animal husbandry is represented by a group of further Slavonic loanwords: *pajta* 'barn', *jászol* 'manger', *járom* 'yoke', *patkó* 'horseshoe', *abrak* 'fodder', etc. Several domestic animals have names of Slavonic origin: *bárány* 'lamb', *macska* 'cat', *kacsa* 'duck', *kakas* 'cock', *galamb* 'pigeon', etc. — Names of numerous wild animals, birds, etc. are also of Slavonic origin: *medve* 'bear', *hörcsög* 'hamster', *patkány* 'rat', *vidra* 'otter'; *szarka* 'magpie', *veréb* 'sparrow', *csíz* 'greenfinch'; *pók* 'spider', *giliszta* 'earthworm', *pióca* 'leech', *bolha* 'flea'; etc. — Life along the waters also owes many terms to the Slavs: *csuka* 'pike', *kárász* 'crucian', *pisztráng* 'trout', *rák* 'crab'; *csónak* 'boat', *kormány* 'helm', *lapát* 'oar, rudder', *vitorla* 'sail'; *mocsár* 'swamp', *zátony* 'shoal', *gát* 'dam', *iszap* 'mud'; etc.

The change-over to intensive agriculture and the adoption of more developed forms of animal husbandry made it inevitable that the Hungarians should abandon their earlier nomadic customs. They therefore accommodated themselves to a more or less settled way of life after the Conquest. This cultural change is fairly well reflected by the abundance of Slavonic loanwords referring to house and furnishings: *udvar* 'yard', *konyha* 'kitchen', *pince* 'cellar'; *ablak* 'window', *kémény* 'chimney'; *asztal* 'table', *pad* 'bench', *polc* 'shelf', etc.; *párna* 'cushion', *dunyha* 'eider-down', *abrosz* 'table-cloth', *pólya* 'swathing-bands'; etc. — The change of the mode of living is indicated by such words as the following: *ebéd* 'lunch', *uzsonna* 'snack', *vacsora* 'supper'; *tészta* 'dough, dish made of dough', *kalács* 'cake', *kovász* 'leaven', *kolbász* 'sausage', *szalonna* 'bacon' etc.; terms of clothing: *ruha* 'clothing', *nadrág* 'trousers', *szoknya* 'skirt', *harisnya* 'stockings', *csizma* 'boots' etc.; terms of family life: *család* 'family', *mostoha* 'step-father/mother', *dajka* 'nurse', *unoka* 'grandchild', etc. — The Hungarians had learned many an element of manufacturing industry from the Slavs; this is documented by the existence of names of trades borrowed from them: *bodnár* 'cooper, tubber, hooper', *takács* 'weaver', *mészáros* 'butcher', *kovács* 'smith', etc.; further, numerous names of tools and articles: *kalapács* 'hammer', *borotva* 'razor', *szekerce* 'hatchet'; *abroncs* 'hoop', *bödön* 'tub', *vödör* 'bucket'; etc.

The development of Hungarian state administration fell into the domain of the post-Conquest Slavonic influence and the latter left its mark in the related sphere of notions as well: *király* 'king', *vajda* 'voivod', *ispán* 'land-steward, administrative leader of a county', *tiszt* 'officer'; *megye* 'county', *pénz* 'money', *pecsét* 'seal'; etc. — The conversion of Hungarians to Christianity was paralleled by the foundation of the state. This accounts for the abundance of Slavonic words, exceeded only by Latin terms, in Hungarian Church terminology: *pap* 'priest', *apáca* 'nun', *zarándok* 'pilgrim'; *szent* 'saint', *malaszt* 'divine grace', *zsolozsma* 'chant'; *keresztel* 'he baptizes', *bérmál* 'he is confirmed (at confirmation)'; etc. Relevant here are also the names of feasts and of the days of the week: *karácsony* 'Christmas', *pünkösd* 'Whitsun'; *szerda* 'Wednesday', *csütörtök* 'Thursday'; etc.

Several ethnic names have also been borrowed from the Slavs: *német* 'German', *horvát* 'Croat', *szerb* 'Serbian' etc.; and certain qualitative adjectives: *görbe* 'curved', *gonosz* 'wicked', *bolond* 'fool', etc.; and finally, some words referring to actions: *parancsol* 'he commands', *panaszol* 'he complains', *sétál* 'he walks', etc.

German Loanwords

1. Although the Hungarians maintained connections with the Germans prior to the Conquest period, Hungarian—German connections in the true sense of the word can be spoken of only from the time of the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom onwards. In the course of Christianization, German missionaries visited Hungary. The House of Árpád entertained matrimonial connections with German ruling families. As a result, an increasing number of German courtiers and feudal lords settled in Hungary. Beginning with the twelfth century, populous German groups moved into Hungary. In this manner the Saxons came to inhabit some contiguous areas in southern Transylvania and the northern highlands. As a consequence, the population of the medieval Hungarian towns included considerable German-speaking blocs. The German settlers in Hungary spoke partly Middle German (Middle Frankish) and partly High German (Bavarian) dialects.

Circumstances following the political upheavals of the sixteenth century were still more hospitable to German influence. After the Battle of Mohács, Hapsburg rule was extended to Western and Northern Hungary, and when the Turks were expelled and the temporarily independent Hungarian principality of Transylvania was annexed, the whole of the country was subjected to the Hapsburg kings of Hungary who were also the emperors of Austria. German influence was mediated on the one hand by foreign officials and soldiers stationed in Hungary whose impart was only enhanced by the German-speaking populations in Transdanubian and South Hungarian territories and by Hungarian students and soldiers who spent some of their years in German-speaking areas outside the country, on the other. Western European cultural movements reached Hungary, chiefly from the eighteenth century onwards, via Vienna and in German language media, and for the most part, in the cloak of German educational ideals. Owing to

Hapsburg supremacy, the vehicle of this influence was High German, that is, the Bavarian—Austrian dialect complex.

This extremely strong German influence which penetrated into almost every sphere of life was an explicit menace to culture and language. That this menace eventually turned out to be ineffectual may be attributed to the efforts and struggles of the epoch of the Enlightenment, and to the national revival of the Reform Age and the ensuing War of Independence in 1848—49. Owing to reacting national movements, the infiltration of German words encountered ever steeper obstacles, in spite of the increasing influence of German culture.

2. More than three hundred German words have established themselves in Hungarian standard usage. In addition, several thousand words of German origin have invaded the peripheral parts of Hungarian vocabulary, for instance the technical and dialectal levels, argot, and urban terminology, where they are still in current use.

German words entered the Hungarian language in a long and almost uninterrupted procession; no clear-cut chronological differentiation can therefore be made between them. Nevertheless, a relatively early layer can be brought into relief from the age of the Árpáds: *polgár* 'burgher', *püspök* 'bishop', *herceg* 'prince', *kehely* 'chalice', etc. Most of the standard words stemming from German received their status as such during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Still more words were borrowed in the eighteenth and subsequent centuries, but these were mainly used as vogue-words, technical terms, dialectal or argot expressions, etc.

It follows from the strong dialectal differentiation of German that the term "German loanwords" is used in a generic, i.e. collective sense, since the elements involved are by no means homogeneous in origin. In accordance with historical facts, numerous words of Middle German origin are to be found in the earlier layers: *komp* 'ferry', *szász* 'Saxon', *zsémbes* 'grim, peevish', *csap* 'tap', etc. Their majority, however, came from High German, Bavarian—Austrian dialects.

3. The German borrowings in Hungarian belong to rather varied notional spheres. They reveal the true picture of Hungarian—German ethnic and linguistic contacts.

Since the medieval urban population of Hungary spoke German for the most part and, what is more, significant Hungarian cities included German inhabitants as late as the nineteenth century, a great number of German words entered Hungarian from the usage of German-speaking townspeople. Such are names of craftsmen: *kalmár* 'merchant', *bognár* 'cartwright', *suszter* 'shoemaker', *borbély* 'barber', *pék* 'baker', *pintér* 'hooper', *hóhér* 'hangman', etc.; words in connection with the guild system: *céh* 'guild', *cégér* 'sign-board', *kontár* 'quack', etc.; names of artisans' tools and products: *prés* 'press', *puttony* 'butt', *ráspoly* 'file, rasp', *tégely* 'melting pot, jar'; *pléh* 'tin', *drót* 'wire', *zsindely* 'shingle', *papír* 'paper'; etc.; numerous mining terms: *huta* 'foundry', *hámor* 'foundry, forge', *kohó* 'blast furnace', *érc* 'metal'; etc.; terms denoting monetary units and other measures used in commerce: *font* 'pound', *tucat* 'dozen', *tallér* 'thaler', *fillér* 'farthing', etc.

Related in many ways with the above, many loanwords of German origin or mediation entered the nomenclature of building, architecture, cooking, clothing, social life of aristocrats and the middle class, etc.: *kastély* 'castle', *torony* 'tower', *erkély* 'balcony', *cukor* 'sugar', *perec* 'pretzel', *fasírt* 'minced-meat ball', *koszt* 'food'; *kóstol* 'he tastes', *pácol* 'he pickles', *dinsztel* 'he stews', *pucol* 'he cleans'; *paróka* 'periwig', *copf* 'plait, braid', *gallér* 'collar', *prém* 'fur', *gyémánt* 'diamond'; *herceg* 'prince, duke', *gróf* 'count', *dáma* 'dame', *lakály* 'lackey'; *tánc* 'dance', *farsang* 'carnival', *lant* 'lute, lyre', *fiáker* 'cab', *biliárd* 'billiard', *adu* 'trump', *kíbic* 'by-stander at playing cards'; etc.

Owing to the mentioned historical circumstances, military terminology also abounds in German loans: *páncél* 'armour', *pisztoly* 'pistol', *mozsár* 'mortar', *zsákmány* 'booty, prey', *zsold* 'soldiers' pay', *sarcol* 'he holds for ransom'; *káplár* 'corporal', *kadét* 'cadet, midshipman', *zsandár* 'gendarme'; etc.

The Hungarian vocabulary of agriculture and animal husbandry contains fewer German elements. Relevant here are mainly the names of some culture plants: *bükköny* 'vetch', *krumpli* 'potato', *karalábé* 'kohlrabi', *kel* 'savoy', *spenót* 'spinach'; *ringló* 'greengage', *ribizli* 'currant'; etc. Only a few of the zoological names have been borrowed from German: *bak* 'he-goat', *kappan* 'capon', etc.

Latin Loanwords

1. Latin influence on Hungarian is quite different from that seen so far. It goes without saying that this influence was not based on immediate ethnic contact. Rather, it came to prevail on the ecclesiastic and cultural levels. We might even say that it took place in the educational spheres and reached the broader masses of people from above.

Although Latin influence lasted from the period of conversion to Christianity to the most recent times, its more important stages or points of gravity can be readily distinguished uninterruptedly during thousand years. The first important stage continued up to the end of the Middle Ages. This period was characterized by an ever increasing prevalence of Western Christian ideals and a growing impact of the Church in various fields of economic and social life. Education was almost the exclusive property of the Church whose language was Latin. Hence medieval Hungarian written records are mainly in Latin.

The second important stage can be delimited in the Reformation period culminating in the middle and in the second half of the sixteenth century. In spite of the fact that the Reformation favoured the vernacular tongue, it did not prevent Latin from furthering and even deepening the role it had played formerly in Hungary. A network of schools allowed it to spread general education and concomitant Latin among much more extensive layers of population than was the case in any of the former periods. In addition to Church education, a secular type of learning also began to develop with the advance of humanistic ideas whose vehicle was also Latin.

A third period of strong Latin influence was that of "baroque Latinism" toward the second part of the seventeenth and mainly in the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. In practice no one could thrive in public life during that period without a satisfactory knowledge of Latin. Baroque Latinism as well as the German influence were pushed into the background during the period of national revival, notably during the epoch of the Enlightenment and the Reform Age. Education has, of course, remained a powerful medium for maintaining Latin during subsequent centuries.

2. The number of Latin loanwords in standard usage exceeds two hundred. The majority of these derive from medieval times or from the period of the Reformation. Naturally, a good many Latin elements have entered the dialects where they survive even today. The so-called "pseudo-Latin" technical terms of modern life (see below) are represented by a considerable number, as well as the more real Latin scientific terms which should also be regarded as fairly recent loanwords.

The most significant Latin layers in the Hungarian language came from the so-called "Hungarian Latin", a particular variety of medieval Latin which developed and flourished in Hungarian-speaking territories from the earliest days of Church Latin influence. This variety had several characteristic features demonstrable up to the end of the eighteenth century — primarily in the field of phonetics — that are fairly well reflected in the resulting loanwords. Such phonetic features are, e.g. Latin intervocalic *s* which was pronounced as *ž (zs)*, while in other position *s* was pronounced *š*: *muzsika* 'music' (< Lat. *musica*), *sors* 'fate, lot' (< Lat. *sors*); further, *g, d, t, l, n* followed by *i* or *e* + another vowel were palatalized in Hungarian: *gyömbér* 'ginger' (< Lat. *gingiber*), *petrezselyem* 'parsley' (< Lat. *petrosilium*), *sekrestye* 'sacristy' (< Lat. *sacristia*), etc.

3. Hungarian contains many Church terms of Latin origin. This can be explained by the fact that Latin was the official language of the (Roman) Catholic Church, and by the Latin cult of the Protestants. Words of the former type were adopted in the early centuries, some of them in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the others not earlier than the sixteenth: *templom* 'church', *kápolna* 'chapel', *kolostor* 'monastery', *oltár* 'altar', *orgona* 'organ', *ostya* 'wafer'; *próféta* 'prophet', *mártír* 'martyr, saint', *kanonok* 'canon', *kántor* 'cantor, precentor', *káplán* 'chaplain', *presbiter* 'churchwarden, elder', *legátus* 'legate'; *mise* 'mass', *zsinat* 'synod', *prédikál* 'he preaches', *konfirmál* 'he confirms (eccl.)'; *legenda* 'legend', *regula* 'rule'; *paradicsom* 'Paradise', *gyehenna* 'Gehenna, Hell', *sátán* 'Satan'; etc. — It follows that the words connected with schooling are also from Latin in Hungarian: *iskola* 'school', *kollégium* 'college', *professzor* 'professor, reader'; *tábla* 'blackboard', *tinta* 'ink', *kréta* 'chalk', *ceruza* 'pencil'; *vakáció* 'holiday', *diktál* 'he dictates'; etc.

Earlier scientific usage, which used to be almost entirely Latin, was an important source of Latin loanwords of Hungarian. Quite a number of Latin elements which had originally been used as scientific terms entered the Hungarian language in this way. For example, some botanical names: *akác* 'acacia', *pálma* 'palm', *platán* 'plane-tree, platan'; *citrom*

'lemon', *majoránna* 'marjoram', *menta* 'mint'; *palánta* 'seedling, plant'; *ibolya* 'violet', *viola* 'gillyflower'; etc. Zoological names: *elefánt* 'elephant', *tigris* 'tiger', *párduc* 'panther'; *cet* 'whale', *vipera* 'viper'; *páva* 'peacock', *fülemile* 'nightingale', etc. Several Latin words were borrowed in the field of medicine: *patika* 'apothecary', *pirula* 'pill', *diéta* 'diet'; *pestis* 'plague', *kólika* 'grippe'; etc. Hungarian names of the months are also from Latin: *január* 'January', *február* 'February', *március* 'March', etc.

Baroque Latinism primarily accounts for a number of words borrowed from the terminology of state administration and jurisprudence: *nótárius* 'notary', *fiskális* 'lawyer', *prókátor* 'lawyer'; *juss* 'legacy', *lajstrom* 'list', *voks* 'vote', *uzsora* 'usury'; *citál* 'he cites', *apellál* 'he appeals', *instál* 'he asks sy to do sg.', etc.

A few words have been taken over from Latin terminology connected with the concepts of house and furnishings: *kúria* 'mansion, country seat of a nobleman', *porta* 'manor, demesne', *kamra* 'chamber', *grádics* 'step'; *tégla* 'brick', *fundamentum* 'foundation'; *lámpás* 'lamp', *almárium* 'cupboard'; etc.

Neo-Latin Loanwords

1. During the course of its development the Hungarian language has maintained connections with the Romance languages. In general, three of the Neo-Latin languages are especially relevant here: Italian, French and Romanian.

Sometimes it is rather difficult to determine the exact source for certain etymologies because Neo-Latin lexical stocks show, by and large, a common origin and consequently a high degree of linguistic affinity. In some cases not even a clear-cut distinction between Latin and NeoLatin origin can be made. Words of this type are labelled "Neo-Latin" of "Latin-Neo-Latin". For example: *eretnek* 'heretic', *ében* 'ebony', *ánizs* 'anise', *bástya* 'bastion', *dárda* 'spear, javelin', *mester* 'master', *forint* 'florin', *dénár* 'denarius, penny', *mustár* 'mustard', *saláta* 'salad', etc.

Nevertheless, the majority of the Neo-Latin etymologies of Hungarian can be traced with a sufficient degree of certainty to one or another of the mentioned languages. Such words can be classified as shown below.

2. Italian etymologies form the most populous group among the Neo-Latin loanwords in standard Hungarian usage. Their number is over sixty. In addition, a few scores of Italian loanwords can be listed as obsolete or dialectal survivals.

The existence of a considerable number of Italian loanwords in Hungarian can be explained by the long and varied cultural and linguistic contacts between Hungarians and Italians throughout the centuries. In the most remote times priests of Italian origin played an important part in the Christianization of Hungarians. From the twelfth century on, the Dalmatian wars waged by the kings of the House of Árpád favoured the development of Italian influence, which was only reinforced by trade with certain North Italian cities, with Venice in particular. Venetian etymologies are numerous indeed in Hungarian vocabulary. During the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries large groups of Italian burghers moved to and settled in more than one Hungarian city. Economic and cultural contacts were extremely intensive in the fourteenth century, owing to the presence of Anjou kings on the Hungarian throne in that century. Further support for Italian influence was provided by Louis the Great's punitive war against Naples and by the presence of Hungarian students in various North Italian universities. Hungarian—Italian contacts were similarly strong during the reign of King Matthias whose courts at Buda and Visegrád entertained many Italian guests and played host to excellent humanists, scholars, artists, and courtiers of the time. From the end of the fifteenth century onward, Hungaro-Italian contacts gradually weakened but were maintained by the humanist circles at the Transylvanian court for a while. In Hungary proper occasional visits of Italian comedians, jugglers, merchants, and Hungarian soldiers stationed in Italy, mainly in Lombardy, during Hapsburg times, represented the principal connecting links between the two language areas. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Italian cultural trends reached Hungary via Vienna through German.

Owing to the nature of these connections, Italian loanwords in Hungarian are mostly from North Italian dialects. Nevertheless, the earliest layers contain Central Italian elements and the most recent ones include examples from literary Italian.

The notional spheres reflect a many-sided cultural and linguistic influence. Certain words refer to courtly and military life: *paizs* 'shield', *trombita* 'trumpet', *kapitány* 'captain', *pálya* 'career, playing field', *armada* 'army', *mustra* 'muster', etc. Notions of court life, urban society, clothing, theatre, music, etc. are conveyed by words such as *tréfa* 'fun, joke', *móka* 'joke, jest', *maskara* 'mask, disguise', *paszomány* 'braid, lacing', *tafota* 'taft', *freskó* 'fresco', *opera* 'opera', *szóló* 'solo', *balerina* 'ballerina, ballet dancer', etc. Commerce and navigation are represented by *piac* 'market', *bolt* 'vault, shop', *dézsma* 'tithe', *part* 'coast', *rév* 'ferry', *bárka* 'ark', *gálya* 'galley', etc. The names of several kinds of fruit also are Italian: *narancs* 'orange', *füge* 'fig', *datolya* 'dates', *mandula* 'almond', *mazsola* 'raisin', *egres* 'gooseberry', *rizs* 'rice', *spárga* 'asparagus', etc. as well as some of the dough-products and sweets such as *makaróni* 'macaroni', *spagetti* 'spaghetti', *torta* 'tart', *marcipán* 'marzipan, marchpane', etc. A few animal names are also of Italian origin: *szamár* 'donkey', *strucc* 'ostrich', *kagyló* 'shell', *osztriga* 'oyster', etc., as well as the word *istálló* 'stable'. Church life is referred to by *remete* 'hermit', *kámzsa* 'hood'. Some ethnic names are of Italian origin: *szerecsen* 'Arab, Negro', *spanyol* 'Spanish', *talián* 'Italian', etc.; as well as some adjectives: *csúf* 'ugly', *dús* 'rich, profuse', *raffinált* 'refined, shrewd', etc.

There are a few words that were mediated by German (Bavarian—Austrian): *piskóta* 'finger biscuit', *patália* 'quarrel', *primadonna* 'primadonna', *eszpresszó* 'coffee-room, espresso', etc.

3. The adoption of old French words can be accounted for by those contacts that developed to a considerable extent towards the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Matrimonial ties of the House of Árpáds played a very significant role. As a consequence, French monks, priests,

courtiers, agricultural settlers (mixed with German peasants), Hungarian students visiting French universities, etc. were the principal agents in the establishment of a score or so of Old French loanwords in the Hungarian idiom. Most of these came from the Walloon region, although other types, such as Provençal elements are also found among them: *lakat* 'lock', *kilincs* 'doorhandle, latch', *szekrény* 'chest', *mécs* 'lamp', *tárgy* 'object', *zománc* 'enamel', *paraj* 'weed', etc.

From the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries no connection whatever existed between the two nations. It was only from the close of the seventeenth century that a new French wave reached Hungary with increased force. This had a remarkable impact on Hungarian Enlightenment, in spite of the fact that the mediator again was German. Precisely for this reason many French loanwords, reducible in the final analysis to French sources, should be considered more closely as German mediations which belong to the stock of international culture words. For example: *bagatell* 'slight', *garzon* 'bachelor', *gázsi* 'honorarium, salary, wages', *gavallér* 'generous man, gallant', *rezsó* 'hot plate, gas heater', *lavór* 'washdish', *parádé* 'parade', *blamál* 'he makes a fool of himself', etc.

4. In respect to the entire Hungarian vocabulary the position of Romanian loanwords is peculiar, resulting from the special relation between Hungarian and Romanian. A kind of contact must have evolved as early as the twelfth century, although its impact has remained within narrower, provincial confines. This can be explained by the fact that the Romanian people — because of its more backward social standards and lower cultural level — has failed to exert any considerable economic, social-political or cultural influence on the body of the Hungarian nation as a whole. Romanians entertained connections with the eastern (Transylvanian) portion of Hungarians. Therefore the words borrowed in the eastern regions did not spread over to western parts of the country but remained for the most part in the eastern dialects. Following World Wars I and II, the Transylvanian Hungarians, whose number is very considerable, continued life within the framework of the Romanian state. This change cleared the way for further Romanian elements to penetrate the language of the Transylvanian Hungarians.

This explains the peculiar phenomenon that Romanian loanwords are represented by a very narrow medieval layer in Hungarian. As against some ten examples in standard usage, however, there are hundreds of Romanian loanwords in the eastern Hungarian dialects, mainly in certain microregions. The following Romanian words have more or less entered Hungarian common usage: *cimbora* 'fellow', *ficsúr* 'dandy', *poronty* 'weakling, small child', *mokány* 'spunky, plucky', *fustély* 'cudgel', *áfonya* 'cranberry', *tokány* 'meat dish with pepper', *palacsinta* 'pancake', *kaláka* 'collective work', *tukmál* 'he persuades sy to do sg'; etc.

Among Transylvanian loanwords of Romanian origin, most characteristic are those belonging to the terminology of mountainous sheep- and goat-pasturing in some dialect areas: *bács* 'shepherd', *berbécs* 'ram', *esztena* 'sheep-pen', *pojána* 'alpine clearing', *orda* 'sweet sheep-curd', etc.

1. Hungarian — as any other living language – abounds in words of foreign origin which either have passed down from antiquity, i.e., from languages representing ancient cultures (Arabic, Greek, Latin, etc.), or which were relatively recently created, as linguistic products of modern cultures. The former followed the general trend of human thought, and their spheres of content underwent changes before assuming their present-day meaning. The latter started their career, as a rule, in one or another world language. Since words of this kind far exceed the boundaries of their birth place, following a winding path from one language to another in the service of commerce, science and technology, it is often very difficult to establish the agent which mediated them to Hungarian. In other words, we have to take into consideration more than one language in their respect as mediator. Admittedly, a great number of such words have been conveyed by several tongues simultaneously or successively. Yet one thing is certain: world languages must have had a decisive role as donors, especially the more recent the word is.

On the strength of the above statement, the lexical elements that can be termed as culture-words of international currency cannot be classified into either loanword category described but represent a special etymological group.

2. International culture-words in Hungarian constitute a layer referring to material or spiritual products of ancient, medieval or early modern cultures. Most of these have existed in Hungarian for at least a few hundred years if not longer. Words of this class (which might be called m i g r a t i n g w o r d s to distinguish them from more recent layers) had commerce as their chief propagators. Handicraft industry, warfare, the Church and schools, however, also contributed greatly to their dissemination. Accordingly, the major part of these belong to the vocabularies of clothing, apparel, implements and handtools, money, food, weapons, various occupational branches, and the like. They include, for example, certain types of Church terms which did not have Latin as principal vehicle of their spread.

However manifold, and hence complicated and uncertain, the origin of the migrating words is, in the last analysis, they can be classified according to types of cultures of languages that played the role of mediator (or perhaps inventor) in their history.

A large group is represented by those words which go back to Persian or Arabic as a first source, though they came into Hungarian through Turkish, Balkan Slavonic, etc. mediation: *suba* 'sheepskin overcoat', *zubbony* 'jacket, smock', *pamut* 'cotton'; *majom* 'monkey', *kömény* 'cumin', *tárkony* 'tarragon', etc. Some words came into Hungarian from Eastern Europe, partly through Turkish, partly through Slavonic, or through some unknown language: *selyem* 'silk', *gúnya* 'clothing', *köntös* 'gown', *szablya* 'sabre', *pallos* 'heavy broadsword', etc. — A special type is represented by the migrating words of Graeco-Latin origin. The dissemination of ancient Greek words was greatly facilitated by the prevalence of Latin throughout

the Hungarian centuries; in contradistinction to these, Byzantine words came into Hungarian for the most part through the Balkans: *paplan* 'eider-down', *tarisznya* 'bag, wallet', *hártya* 'vellum, membrane', *paripa* 'steed', *alamizsna* 'alms', *zsoltár* 'psalter', etc. Even Latin words were sometimes mediated by the Slavs, e.g.; *szoba* 'room', *pogány* 'pagan', *gránát* 'garnet', *garas* 'groat', etc. — This latter category is often hard to discern from that of western migrants that arrived in Hungary after some Neo-Latin, German or Slavonic preliminaries: *kaszárnya* 'barracks', *karabély* 'rifle', *bárd* 'hatchet', *címer* 'coat-of-arms'; *darabont* 'soldier', *alabárd* 'halberd'; *malom* 'mill', *molnár* 'miller', etc.

3. Technical progress in the last centuries brought about an enormous quantity of novel concepts that were considered international at the moment of their birth, or else were soon to exceed the scope of the nation, country or cultural sphere where they were born. Like other languages, Hungarian has been powerfully enriched by the incorporation of modern terms which have entered Hungary ever since the Enlightenment. The main fields of dissemination for these words were offered by commerce and trade, the manufacturing industry, and also the various branches of science, the arts, sports, etc. As regards direct adoption, they have been mainly mediated by German which had surpassed the usual vitality of world languages in this respect prior to World War II. After the war Russian and English began to gain the upper hand.

With the technical terms of the particular fields considered, the number of modern international words adopted into Hungarian is several ten thousands. Thousands of them have either become standard words, or are now on the way of becoming standard. It should be observed, however, that words of this class sound foreign to the Hungarian ear, in contrast to the majority of loanwords or migrating words of the other types. This is why many of them have been replaced by Hungarian equivalents, owing to efforts of the reformist and purist movements of more or less qualified circles. But the majority of them could not be ousted. What the purists have mostly achieved has been the creation of equivalents or near-equivalents from the point of view of style. Thus there are such pairs as: *hotel : szálloda* 'hotel', *autó : gépkocsi* 'automobile', *futball : labdarúgás* 'football', *tribün : lelátó* 'tribune', etc.

Taking into consideration the points of origin, among the different possible bases of classification, we can exemplify the various categories of modern international words in Hungarian as shown below: The following words are ultimately from Greek: *technika* 'technology', *atom* 'atom', *melódia* 'melody', *telefon* 'telephone', *lexikon* 'lexicon', *atléta* 'athlete', etc. A very large group of modern Hungarian words go back to Latin: *motor* 'motor', *konzerv* 'conserve', *bacilus* 'bacillus', *doktor* 'doctor', *luxus* 'luxury', *liberális* 'liberal', etc. — Words stemming from modern world languages have many representatives in Hungarian: this holds particularly true for such German-like terms: *nikkel* 'nickel', *kvarc* 'quartz', *lösz* 'loess', *giccs* 'trash, worthless product of art', *gleccser* 'glacier', etc.; for the French-type etymologies: *szervíz* 'service', *terasz* 'terrace', *büfé* 'buffet', *vitrin* 'glass-

case, vitrine', *menü* 'bill of fare, menu', etc.; for etymologies of the English type: *tröszt* 'trust', *keksz* 'cakes', *sztár* 'star', *dzsessz* 'jazz', *gól* 'goal', etc. Italian types also make their presence felt: *rakéta* 'rocket', *lottó* 'lottery', *karikatúra* 'caricature', etc.; Spanish types are: *lasszó* 'lasso', *boleró* 'bolero', *torreádor* 'toreador', etc., and Russian types are: *tundra* 'tundra', *sztyeppe* 'steppe', *kozák* 'Cossack', etc. Finally, the Arabic-type etymologies are: *szirup* 'syrup', *vatelin* 'cotton wadding', *trafik* 'tobacco shop', etc. — Of course, other cultural spheres are also represented among Hungarianized international words ranging from Turkish (*kán* 'khan', *janicsár* 'janissary', etc.) to various Indian languages (*orkán* 'hurricane', *kakaó* 'cacoa', etc.).

4. In this context, Hungarian s l a n g (argot) also deserves to be mentioned inasmuch as it contains, like any other slang, a great number of international etymologies even though their origin cannot always be precisely ascertained. Numerous German "rotwelsch" etymologies are to be found in this category: *galeri* 'gang of young hooligans', *strici* 'fancy man, rascal', *fater* 'father, old boy', *klassz* 'good', *finesz* 'brain, shrewdness', etc. Hebrew-Yiddish words are equally abundant: *meló* 'job', *haver* 'friend', *hirig* 'brawl', *szajré* 'booty', etc. Directly or indirectly stemming from Gypsy are: *csaj* 'girl', *kaja* 'food', *duma* 'speech', *pia* 'drink', etc.

Words of Intra-Lingual Formation (Autonomous Words)

Questions of Classification

1. The third major group of Hungarian vocabulary, viewed from the aspect of etymology, consists of internally developed words. As has been indicated above, all lexical elements belong here which came into existence in the separate life of the Hungarian language, i.e. following its segregation from the cognate languages, and which consequently neither form part of the ancient inheritance nor are borrowed.

In principle, it is easy to discern words of this category from the two other great etymological groups; practice, however, throws up several problems. The methods of word-formation by which the internal developments came into existence in the separate life of the Hungarian language must have been at work, even though in a narrower scope, while Hungarians lived together with the cognate peoples, i.e. in the prehistory of its evolution. Secondary word-formation must have been responsible for the development of the word *álom* 'sleep, dream', from the verb *alszik* 'he sleeps' in the Ugric stage. Similarly, the word *nép* 'people', a compound of *nő* 'woman' and *fi* 'man', may have been formed in the period of co-existence. At the same time, there are legions of internally developed words whose morphemes taken in themselves point back to prehistoric antecendents. For example, the ancient word *far* 'buttocks, hind part', underwent a secondary word-formation, receiving the equally ancient diminutive suffix *-k*, so that *farok* 'tail' derived; or by combining the ancient *menny* 'sky, heaven' with a similarly ancient word, *kő* 'stone', the new word *mennykő*

'lightning' developed. Although the overwhelming majority of word-formations of this type evolved in the separate life of Hungarian, we cannot preclude the possibility that many of them were formed in the manner of the above-mentioned *álom, nép* types during the period of co-existence. The same problem occurs — as will be seen below — in other word categories, such as interjections and onomatopoetical words. For reasons like these, some members (categories) of the internally developed Hungarian words are mixed into categories of similar types of older vintage.

Further problems arise when it comes to differentiating the internally developed words from foreign etymologies. In the case of certain onomatopoetical words it is rather difficult to settle whether they are real Hungarian formations or borrowings. For instance, the word *babrál* 'he fiddles with' has internally developed Hungarian relatives, but at the same time all of the northern Slavonic neighbours have their own variants of the word which is not very different in form and content and obviously onomatopoetic origin. A different morphological problem is presented by the fact that the verbs borrowed from foreign languages — mainly after the Conquest period — adapted themselves to the Hungarian morphological system, for the most part, by assuming Hungarian verbal endings. For example: Slavonic *šetati* 'to walk' > Hungarian *sétál* 'he walks', German *packen* 'to pack' > Hungarian *pakol* 'he packs', etc. In this manner the formative function of Hungarian prevailed in them. Problems like this account for the fact that there exists a border area between internally developed words and foreign etymologies, which tends to frustrate all clear-cut categorization.

The difficulties of categorization do not at all mean that we are at a loss when it comes to treating internally developed words, this numerically dominant group of Hungarian vocabulary, as a special etymological unit.

2. Internally developed words are usually divided into two main groups. One contains words that have been fully produced by the Hungarian language, that is, words whose stems are independent creations which have no direct connection with either prehistoric or foreign elements. Interjections and onomatopoetic words play a principal part in the birth of such lexical elements. Therefore their sub-groups consist of interjections and onomatopes (imitating sounds or evoking a particular mood). By way of summarization, they are also termed c r e a t e d w o r d s. The second category includes words whose stems are sought either in prehistoric times or which were borrowed from another language in an earlier form. Their internal development has been determined by the methods of morphological word-construction (formation, back-formation, incorporation of suffixes, compounding, splitting of words, etc.). This category includes more words than all other categories and is termed the group of c o n s t r u c t e d w o r d s.

In the following, only the group of created words will be introduced here. Word construction viewed from the morphological aspect is treated in another study in this volume: The Grammatical System of Hungarian (see p. 85).

Interjections

1. Starting from the supposition that the category of interjections represents a very old group of words pointing back to the prehistory of the language, we may freely establish that some Hungarian interjections go back to a very early stage of Hungarian, possibly to times before it began to exist as a separate language. Nevertheless, it is well-nigh impossible to establish clear-cut Uralic, Finno-Ugric or Ugric origins for the individual interjections, owing to the inadequacy of comparative and etymological methods in relation to this particular category of words. What we can do with a sufficient degree of certainty is to reduce the interjection *huj* to the Ugric period, since it is one of the earliest demonstrable Hungarian words. A chronicle writer of the tenth century, Liutprand, mentions that this word was used as a war cry by the Hungarians in the battle of Magdeburg: "ex eorum . . . turpis et diabolica *húi, húi* frequenter auditur".

Undoubtedly, a considerable portion of Hungarian interjections was created during the separate existence of the language.

As in other languages, the lexical elements in this category are mainly monosyllabic in Hungarian as well. Polysyllabic interjections are usually compounds or repetitive formations: *nono, ejnye, ajaj, tyuhaj*, etc. In the case of some interjections with similar functions, velar/palatal pairs can be observed: *ah : eh, haj : hej, tyú : tyű*, etc. From the functional point of view, they are very varied. They include addressing (*hé, hó*, etc.), animating (*na, no*, etc.), appeasing (*csitt, pissz*, etc.), optative (*beh, ó*, etc.), wondering (*á, hű*, etc.), derisive (*fúj, pfi*, etc.), and plaintive (*jaj, juj*, etc.) expressions, to mention only a few classes.

2. Interjections are often connected with other types of words that came into existence through internal creation or construction: *jaj : jajgat* 'he wails', *óh : óhajt* 'he is desirous', *csitt : csitít* 'he soothes sy', *ujj : ujjong* 'he exults', *áh : áhít* 'he wishes', *hm : hümmög* 'he says "hm"'; *hé : hékás* 'hey you, old chap', *hajsz : hajsza* 'hurry, rush'; etc. Interrelations of this type, however, raise doubts as to the priority of the parallel forms; what is more, even their direct etymological connections are sometimes debatable. The verbal and nominal members of some morphological pairs in this class came about by real word-formation or compounding. In other cases, a contrary process of back-formation took place. In still other cases, coincidences, parallelisms and indirect interrelations can be suspected, which are usual occurrences in the development of interjections on the one hand, and onomatopoetic words, on the other. Typically sound-imitating interjections which are used in pastoral life for calling, directing or driving animals will be treated below.

Sound-Imitating Words

1. It goes without saying that sound-imitating onomatopes could develop in any phase of the history of Hungarian. Some of these are ancient and can be ascertained with a high degree of probability, if not

determined exactly for obvious difficulties lying in the nature of sound-imitation: *sír* 'he weeps', *csap* 'he slaps', *forr* 'it boils', *fúj* 'it blows', *csepeg* 'it drips', *tapos* 'he treads', *fakad* 'it bursts'; *holló* 'raven', *haris* 'a kind of quail', etc. Most of the extant sound-imitating Hungarian words are products of its separate existence.

The number of onomatopoetic etymologies is extremely high in Hungarian. True, medieval records bear scanty evidence of this, but data increase with the progress of time. Words of this kind occur by the thousands in dialects; most of them have not been accepted into the standard, although the Hungarian standard includes several hundred onomatopoetical elements.

The special characteristics of onomatopoetic words are certainly responsible for their language-historical development and the place they occupy in the system of language. Individual words of this type are liable to come and go quickly; therefore they sometimes did not go beyond their narrower dialectal confines and were replaced even in the dialects by the hundreds within relatively short spans of time. Only a small portion of them are relatively stable and time-resisting and have established themselves in common and literary usage. Apart from all these considerations, the low rate of occurrence of onomatopoetical words in Old Hungarian linguistic records can be accounted for by their particular semantic content; they were not very much needed by the authors of religious texts. At the same time, the underdeveloped language norm of the time also rejected these elements as being of inferior quality.

2. Some of the most important characteristics of this class of words are discussed below.

Many etymologically related sound-imitating words occur in palatal-velar or mixed-velar dublets: *csattant* 'he cracks' : *csettent* 'he snaps', *dorombol* 'it purrs' : *dörömböl* 'he knocks', *dobban* 'it throbs' : *döbben* 'he is startled, it gives a booming sound', *puffan* 'it thumps' : *püffen* 'it gives a thudding sound', *makog* 'it gibbers' : *mekeg* 'it bleats', *dong* 'it is humming' : *döng* 'it bangs', etc.; *szipog* 'he whimpers' : *szepeg* 'same', *nyikkan* 'it squeaks' : *nyekken* 'same', *tipor* 'he tramples' : *teper* 'he floors and tramples'; etc.

Morphologically, their endings are so-called pseudo-suffixes: they often show a close agreement with the true formative suffixes without being attached to a real root, e.g., the verbs *nyávog* 'it mews', *hortyog* 'he snores', *hebeg* 'he stutters', *dadog* 'he stammers', *morog* 'he grumbles, snarls' *kacag* 'he laughs', etc. do have the *-g* frequentative formative suffix, although Hungarian has no root-morphemes like *nyáv*, *horty*, *heb*, etc. This phenomenon can be historically explained by the fact that the sound-imitating anterior constituent and suffix-like ending were born at the same time, i.e., the word did not appear first to take up a suffix later. The stock of pseudo-suffixes in this word type is not only strictly determined, but there are a few word-endings which have no existence other than in onomatopoetic words. For example, the verbal suffixes *-kol*, *-kel*, *-köl* ~ *-gol*, *-gel*, *-göl* occur in verbs like: *horkol* 'he snores'; *pacskol* 'he splashes', *pörköl* 'he singes, scorches'; *csatangol* 'he roves about', *csilingel* 'it rings', *dörgöl* 'he rubs', etc.

The morphology and phonetics of Hungarian onomatopoetic verbs show a certain degree of interconnection. So for example, the frequentative verbs with the suffix *-g* mainly contain a short grade medial consonant, and the instantaneous verbs with the suffix *-n* a long one: *bugyog* 'it bubbles': *buggyan* 'it bubbles up', *csepeg* 'it drips' : *cseppen* 'same', *potyog* 'it drops': *pottyan* 'it falls down', *recseg* 'it crackles' : *reccsen* 'same', etc. In some instances, however, the medial geminated consonant also intruded into the frequentative variants: *csattog* 'it clatters', *durrog* 'it explodes', *pattog* 'it crackles', etc.

Onomatopoetic words belong to a semantically well-defined sphere: in the nature of things, they can only express notions of sound imitation or which are connected with sound imitation. A few examples to indicate the various relevant semantic categories are given below.

3. It follows from the nature of sound imitating, i.e. the linguistic expression thereof, that the vast majority of onomatopes belong to the class of verbs in Hungarian. Part of these imitate sounds of living creatures. In the first place there are the strange vocal manifestations deviating from normal in human beings: *dadog* 'he stammers', *kacag* 'he laughs', *dúdol* 'he hums', *kurjant* 'he shouts', etc. In the second place, they imitate the sounds of animals: *röfög* 'it grunts', *gágog* 'it gaggles', *kotkodácsol* 'it chuckles', *ciripel* 'it chirps', etc. In the third place, they are expressive of acoustic phenomena characteristic of both man and animals: *horkol* 'he/it snores', *köhög* 'he/it coughs', *tüsszent* 'he/it sneezes', *nyög* 'he/it groans', etc. — Another portion of onomatopoetic verbs represents various natural sounds and noises, e.g., acoustic phenomena accompanying atmospherical apparitions: *dörög* 'it thunders', *zúg* 'it roars', *csattan* 'it cracks', *süvít* 'it howls', etc.; sounds accompanying fire: *serceg* 'it crackles', *sistereg* 'it fizzles', *perzsel* 'it scorches, singes', etc.; others imitate sounds given by flowing water: *csorog* 'it rills', *csörgedez* 'it gurgles', *fröccsen* 'it splashes', *loccsan* 'it plops', etc.; noises of machines: *berreg* 'it buzzes, throbs', *zakatol* 'it clatters', etc.; noises made by objects falling, smashing or grating against each other: *pottyan* 'it plops', *koccan* 'it clinks, clatters', *csilingel* 'it rings, tinkles', *zörög* 'it rattles', etc.

As opposed to the verbs, the number of onomatopoetic nouns is rather low in Hungarian. Some of them are demonstrable back-formations from earlier existing verbs: *fütty* 'whistle' : *fütyül* 'he whistles' *hahota* 'roaring laughter' : *hahotázik* 'he roars with laughter', *lötty* 'wish-wash' : *löttyen* 'it slops', etc. Among the original onomatopoetic nouns a comparatively abundant class is represented by zoological names, especially those of birds: *kuvik* 'sparrow owl', *kakuk* 'cuckoo', *pinty* 'fringilla', *rigó* 'thrush', etc.; *tücsök* 'cricket'. Adjectives which imitate sounds are rather few in Hungarian: *selyp* 'lisping', *nyafka* 'whimpering', etc.

4. Morphologically and functionally different types are represented by those interjections which can be reduced to onomatopoetical origins. These sound-imitating words are used to d r i v e, c a l l o r d i r e c t a n i m a l s a t p a s t u r e. Differences are found in these types according to whether the word fulfils a calling or a driving function.

In the group of calling words the original sound-imitating character has survived and is more conspicuous. They are repetitive words and contain sounds typical of the called animal, or of its young, twice or several times in sequence. It follows from their function that they prevail in dialects. Calling words for hens are: *csip*, *kot*, *pi*, etc.; for ducks: *kur*, *ruc*, *tas*, etc.; for pigs: *co*, *csi*, *koc*, etc.; and for horses: *csit*, *mucsi*, *prücs*, etc.

The types which express driving of animals are more of an emotional nature, i.e. more like interjections, though the original onomatopoetic conception can be felt behind them. For example, the driving words for poultry and wild birds render the sounds of flying: *hess*, *ss*, etc. Often the calling word is applied as a driving one, uttered with a greater emphasis and complemented with interjections or pronouns of different kinds: *csi ne!*, *csi te!*, etc. These are not repetitive as a rule.

Calling words have given rise to animal names by the addition of a diminutive suffix to the originally sound-imitating words: *csir* : > *csirke* 'chicken', *lib* : > *liba* 'goose', *ruc* : > *ruca* 'duck', *puj* : > *pulyka* 'turkey', *koc* : > *koca* 'hog', *csi* : > *csikó* 'colt', etc. Some of the animal names of this type — in contrast to the majority of sound-imitating interjections — have become standard words.

Onomatopes Associated with the Object or Action Designated (Mood-Painting Words)

1. Like all other languages, Hungarian also has words which suggest a motion or a state of mind by their very sounds. Origin and character closely relate these words with the sound-imitating type of onomatopes and in certain instances their source is one and the same. The two etymological categories are therefore difficult to distinguish.

Identification, i.e. categorization, here again is encumbered by the fact that the linguistic imitation of moods is not bound to any particular age or period. Consequently Hungarian onomatopes of this kind may have originated in very remote times, possibly before the disintegration. Thus we can ascertain with a high degree of probability that such Hungarian word families as *csillog* 'it sparkles', *csillan* 'it flashes', *csillámlik* 'it glitters', etc.; *lebeg* 'it floats', *lebben* 'it makes a flapping movement', *levegő* 'air', etc. are very ancient. In spite of this, this special kind of onomatope should be regarded — for reasons mentioned above in connection with the other class of onomatopes — as deriving from the separate period of the Hungarian language.

The number of onomatopes which describe a particular mood is smaller than that of sound-imitating words, although this class represents a rather considerable group. The overwhelming majority of these words are confined to the dialects, as they have always been, but several hundred of them have entered the standard language.

2. Since the two classes of onomatopes are of common origin, bearing almost identical distinctive features as regards grammatical behaviour, we should only make a few additional remarks here.

Phonetically they are characterized by a tendency to begin with a bilabial or with a labiodental consonant: *babrál* 'he fiddles with', *piszkál* 'he pokes', *moccan* 'he stirs', *villan* 'it flashes', *fityeg* 'it lops', etc. Etymological pairs of the split-word kind are more abundant here than in the case of the sound-imitating type: for these are characterized by an inserted consonant, e.g. *-n (-m): peder* 'he twirls' : *penderít* 'he swings', *gebed* 'he stiffens (with cold)': *gémberedik* 'it becomes stiff', *kacsint* 'he winks at sy' : *kancsal* 'squinting', etc.

Semantically, the words which suggest a particular atmosphere do not form as closed a group as the onomatopes of the other category, although their domain of meaning is also fairly well delimitable. These words are expressive of motion or state in a pejorative sense. In contrast to the sound-imitating words, the substantival (nominal) and especially the adjectival categories are very profuse. Nevertheless, there are only a few examples of substantives obtained by means of back-formation from verbs.

3. Here again we have to content ourselves with a few examples to illustrate various semantic categories. Most words in this class are suggestive of sluggishness or drowsiness, things described, or the tired, uncertain, vague and blurred or ridiculous appearance of given objects or actions. One of the major groups in this category refers to concepts connected with the animal body, i.e. the motion of the limbs, or parts of the body: the motion of the feet: *ballag* 'he jogs along', *cammog* 'he trudges along', *biceg* 'he is limping', *sompolyog* 'he is prowling', etc.; denoting a sitting, squatting or lying posture: *guggol* 'he squats', *gunnyaszt* 'he is crouching', *hempereg* 'he is rolling about', *fetreng* 'he welters', etc.; some are expressive of manipulation: *pepecsel* 'he piddles away', *piszmog* 'he potters about', *bíbelődik* 'he piddles around sg', *matat* 'he putters', etc.; actions performed by the mouth: *tát* 'he opens wide', *vigyorog* 'he grins', *ásít* 'he yawns', etc.; actions performed by the eyes: *pillant* 'he blinks', *pislog* 'he winks', *kukucskál* 'he peeps', etc. Another extensive group designates unstable, labile motions: hanging movements are suggested by the following examples: *billeg* 'it teeters', *leng* 'it sways/swings', *reng* 'it rocks', *csüng* 'it hangs', *biggyeszt* 'he purses (his lips), places some unimportant thing somewhere', etc.; or gives a sensation of oscillation or vibration: *remeg* 'he quivers, trembles', *hemzseg* 'they pullulate', *nyüzsög* 'they swarm', *bizsereg* 'it tingles', etc.; or refer to rolling, waving movements: *gurul* 'it rolls', *csúszik* 'it creeps, crawls', *hömpölyög* 'it waves, undulates', etc.

The substantives of this category of onomatopes are for the most part pejorative adjectives: *bamba* 'stupid, simple', *bumfordi* 'blockheaded', *pipogya* 'funky', *nyápic* 'weakling', *pohos* 'pot-bellied, paunchy', *csámpás* 'club-footed', *gyüge* 'idiot', etc. Several synonyms which express extreme minuteness are also adjectives: *parányi* 'wee', *pici* 'puny', *pirinyó* 'same', *pinduri* 'same', etc. The nouns of this etymological group show the most varied picture: *púp* 'hunch', *pehely* 'flake', *cicoma* 'useless finery, trumpery', *cafat* 'rag', *piszok* 'dirt', etc.

4. Closely related with the etymologies discussed here are those products of onomatopoeia which are used in baby talk or nursery language. Of all the described types perhaps this one is most restricted, its sphere of dissemination and life-time being equally limited: most of these words can never go beyond the confines of a family or of a minor community. Nevertheless, some specimens of this category have entered the standard and should be regarded as very ancient etymologies. Thus *apa* 'father' and *anya* 'mother' must have originated in Finno-Ugric times. Comparatively old are some of the internally developed words, like *néni* 'aunt', *csecs* 'teat', *pép* 'pulp, mach', *mumus* 'hobgoblin', *papi* 'pap', *bibi* 'trouble', *csücsül* 'he is sitting', etc.

Hungarian Words in Foreign Languages

1. Evidently, the connections of the Hungarian language with other languages have not been unilateral. Hungarian has not only borrowed, but it has also lent words. This theme does not essentially belong in the topical sphere of the present volume; proportionate treatment and points of broader outlook, however, will perhaps justify our attempt to counterbalance the above acknowledgements to foreign languages for the words borrowed from them by a brief characterization of Hungarian as a donor language.

It follows from the nature of linguistic contacts that a certain kind of balance, or equilibrium, can be established in respect to loanwords. Generally speaking, a language borrows as many words as it lends to others. This holds true for Hungarian as well. We may add that the Hungarian tongue lent words to the same languages from which it borrowed words. All this does not go to say, of course, that a condition of strict equality should characterize Hungarian connections with every one of the languages it has been in contact with. The weight and intensity of cultural influences have never been uniform. Consequently, Hungarian could give fewer words to the western languages (Italian, German, etc.) than it borrowed from them. At the same time, the emanating power of Hungarian in regard to Middle European cultural spheres and languages has been rather vigorous during the past centuries.

2. Comparatively few reliable data are available on Hungarian words which Hungarians passed on to other peoples during their long migrations in the East European areas before the period of the Great Conquest. But in spite of the difficulties involved by the remoteness of the pre-Conquest centuries, we are able to state positively that the Hungarians entertained a bilateral connection with the Alans of the Caucasus, i.e., Hungarian words entered Alanic, e.g., Hungarian *részeg* 'drunk' > Alanic *rasig* 'same', Hungarian *tölgy* 'oak' > Alanic *tüldz* 'same', Hungarian *kert* 'garden' > Alanic *kärt* 'same', etc.

In post-Conquest times the neighbouring peoples (Slovaks, Transcarpathian Ukrainians, Romanians, Serbo-Croats, Slovenes, etc.) borrowed words by the thousands from Hungarian, which have played a very impor-

tant part in more than one notional sphere in their respective idioms. Thus, for example, Romanian alone contains well-nigh three thousand demonstrable Hungarian etymologies. Part of them have remained at the dialectal level, but several hundreds of them became inalienable portions of standard Romanian.

3. As regards individual words, the Hungarian lexical elements which made their way into foreign languages show a rather variegated picture. Apart from isolated items of dispersion, however, there is a group of Hungarian words which proved to be highly expansive in nature. There are words which established themselves in quite a number of languages. For example, the East European cultural sphere admitted *város* 'town, city', *szállás* 'habitation, settlement', *szoba* 'room, chamber', *bíró* 'judge, sheriff', *juhász* 'shepherd', *hintó* 'coach', etc., all of which are Hungarian. Some Hungarian words covered a still longer way, becoming, so to speak, migrating words. They have been disseminated all over Europe and some of them enjoy currency even outside Europe: *kocsi* 'coach', *hajdú* 'heyduck', *gulyás* 'goulash', *csárdás* 'csardas', *tokaji* 'Tokay wine', etc. Several of these words are not Hungarian etymologies in the strict sense of the term, but Hungarian played the leading role in their dissemination: *puszta* 'puszta', *paprika* 'paprika', *huszár* 'hussar', *betyár* 'highwayman, outlaw', etc.

MAIN FEATURES CHARACTERIZING THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF HUNGARIAN VOCABULARY

This chapter is intended as an account of the development of Hungarian vocabulary taken as a whole, on the one hand, and a summary review of the results, on the other. Consequently, the major changes which have been decisive in shaping of etymological categories, in morphological constructions and in the semantic system, internal (autonomous) growth (areal differentiation and stratification) of Hungarian vocabulary will be surveyed here, as will the present-day condition of Hungarian vocabulary. Our examination will be restricted to some of the more characteristic moments and the more important problems.

When trying to introduce the general tendencies of Hungarian lexical development, i.e. the features characterizing it today, the interrelationship of individual categories and their share in the total stock of words are of primary importance. These, however, can only be evaluated statistically. The statistical data given below refer to two periods in the history of Hungarian. One represents the combined vocabulary of the oldest records of Hungarian, namely the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* (ca 1192), the *Old Hungarian Marian Lament* (ca 1300), the *Lines of Gyulafehérvár* (ca 1315), and the *Fragment of Königsberg* (ca 1350); all of these reveal by and large, the language of the thirteenth century. The other is from the present-day stock of Hungarian words. The data included in these two synchronous cross-sections are serviceable in clarifying the linguistic development of some

seven centuries that has eventually led to the actual formation of Hungarian lexical structure.

Part of the statistical surveys concerning present-day Hungarian is based on *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (Explanatory Dictonary of the Hungarian Language), which is the most recent and extensive lexical work on Hungarian. In these, the proportions of the individual lexical categories are presented in absolute numbers, i.e. without any regard to their rate of frequency in everyday usage. The statistical materials drawn from the early written records of Hungarian and those of modern usage selected for the sake of comparison have been obtained from contiguous texts. Consequently they are used as frequency indexes to show the role and moment of the individual categories in the full context of the language rather than the absolute number of elements figuring in them. In evaluating them we must remember that early Hungarian records are comparatively inextensive and that frequency data based on recent texts are restricted, for the most part, to limited lexical material. Thus the frequency indexes cannot give an exact picture of the epoch they are taken from; rather, they are to be considered as having some informational value.

Structural Problems

Relations between the Etymological Categories

1. According to what has been stated above in connection with the etymological categories of Hungarian, the full lexical stock possessed by Hungarians at the time of their separation from their nearest relatives, i.e. around 1000 B. C., should be regarded as ancient etymologies. In subsequent times, the proportions of the individual categories in the independent language were increased by borrowing as well as by autonomous word creations and constructions. Obviously, such a process should result in a gradual decrease of the relative ratio of primitive etymologies. The shift of ratios in the various categories is illustrated by the following data:

Etymologies	13th-century Hungarian	Recent Hungarian
	(in per cent)	
Ancient	27	8
Foreign	9	7
Autonomous	51	81
Uncertain and unknown	14	4

The rate of frequency is higher for the ancient (primitive) and also for the autonomous lexical elements while it is lower for the foreign category including numerous rare and peripheral lexical elements. As regards absolute numbers, all of the categories, save the ancient, have powerfully increased during the centuries; recent Hungarian has many more foreign etymologies than did the first linguistic records. Words of unknown or

uncertain origin have also increased in absolute numbers. It is an altogether different question that the relative ratios of these categories have shown a decrease throughout the centuries. It must be understood in light of the fact that the number and role of autonomous words have greatly risen, i.e. that many words have come over to this extending category from other fields through word-construction (formation, compounding, etc.).

2. The ratio of ancient Hungarian etymologies (hardly one thousand in absolute numbers) stands far below that of all the foreign etymologies taken together and also falls short of some of the more populous groups of foreign etymologies (Slavonic, German). Yet these barely one thousand words have had a role whose impact far exceeds that of others in the development of the Hungarian lexical stock. We may freely state that the ancient etymologies constitute the very backbone, the most essential material, of the Hungarian vocabulary. Their highly central role can be accounted for by two circumstances.

It is of basic importance that the majority of ancient etymologies are connected with fundamental notions of human life: they refer to objects, actions, environmental conditions, properties, etc. which have played an unchanging role in the mode of life of Hungarians from earliest times to the present days of their linguistic separation. This is a very important fact. As a consequence, these words enjoy much wider currency in everyday usage than do many of the foreign etymologies which often linger on the periphery of the language. It follows from this that the ancient heritage shows an unchanged morphological picture in spite of the fact that the category of ancient etymologies could not increase by one single element after the separation from the cognate languages took place. Indeed, it took so firm a hold that it could resist the moulding effects of the autonomous word constructions, preserving the original intact forms of words up to recent days. When modern Hungarian texts are examined from the viewpoint of word frequency, every tenth lexical element is found to have retained its primitive morphological character of an Uralic, Finno-Ugric or Ugric root.

Although this frequency distribution refers to the intensive use of primitive words in their original root-forms, it is much more efficient in those areas where the frequency ratio of ancient etymologies is multiplied, notably, in the fields of autonomous word formation which became more and more extensive after the separation was completed. Morphological word-formation, which is very significant in Hungarian, is largely based on primitive roots. In order to give an idea of the real proportions, we refer to the fact that in current Hungarian texts every second word of autonomous formation has an ancient, primitive lexical element as a stem (in contrast to foreign etymologies, autonomous roots, and uncertain or unknown etymologies, whose combined occurrence is represented by huge absolute numbers).

Etymological researches show that roots that have developed many formations derive generally from the ancient times. In the growth of the major word-families developing from one or another ancient root first mainly split words, formations and incorporated suffixes were predominat-

ing; it was only at a later stage that back-formation and compounding began to colour the picture. In this manner, the ancient roots became ramified like the stem of a tree. For example, the primitive etymology *él* 'he lives, is alive', came to be the origin (i.e. constituent element) of several hundred autonomous words: *éled* 'he livens', *éleszt* 'he enlivens sg.', *éltet* 'he keeps sy, sg. alive', *élemedik* 'he is getting old', *éldegél* 'he is getting on', *élő* 'living', *élet* 'life', *élés* 'victuals', *élhetetlen* 'helpless, resourceless', *élénk* 'vivid', *eleven* 'brisk', *élelem* 'food', *eledel* 'food', *eleség* 'food'; not counting the legions of secondary and tertiary word-formations: *élelmez* 'he supplies sy with food', *éledez* 'he comes to', *élesztő* 'yeast', *élősdi* 'parasite', *élősködik* 'he lives on others', *élénkít* 'animate', etc., as well as in the formation of many compounds: *élelmiszer* 'victuals', *élőlény* 'living thing', *életmód* 'mode of living', etc. The verb *ad* 'he gives' has a derivative *adó* 'giving' that forms the constituent member, according to the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language*, of some one hundred fifty compound words. Such ancient verbal elements of the lexical stock as *hall* 'he hears', *lát* 'he sees', *tesz* 'he does', *vesz* 'he takes', *áll* 'he stands', *fél* 'he is afraid of', etc. have provided roots for many dozens of Hungarian words. Although similar developments can be established for part of the primitive nominal stock, it is beyond doubt that the most far-reaching ramifications started from the ancient verbal roots.

For the non-specialist, the etymological interconnections of members of a major word-family which are derived from one and the same root are hard or impossible to detect. Thus, e.g., the ancient root *vil-* gave rise to words like *villog* 'it flashes', *villám* 'lightning', *világ* 'daylight' and 'world', *virrad* 'it dawns', *virág* 'flower', *virul* 'it flourishes', etc.; *töv-* : > *tövik* 'it prickles', *tűz* 'he fastens sg. with a pin', *tövis* 'thistle, prick', *tüske* 'thorn', *tőr* 'dagger', etc.

3. The statistical picture given above suggests that foreign etymologies in Hungarian do not show any considerable modifications, at least not in respect to their rate of frequency. This implies that this category has kept pace with the rest of the lexical stock during the various stages of the development of Hungarian.

The restricted capacity of foreign etymologies to ramify into families, as against words of ancient origin is conspicuous. Frequency statistics show that the participation of foreign etymologies which occur in their original morphological state, i.e. in their basic forms (*mester* 'master', *gonosz* 'wicked', *gyaláz* 'he slanders', etc.), is by and large equal to that of those borrowed words in whose case the foreign etymological part has suffered some morphological alteration under the influence of one or another means of autonomous word-formation (*mesterkedik* 'he manipulates', *gonoszság* 'wickedness', *gyalázat* 'shame, ignominy', etc.). Ramification into families as a consequence of secondary word-formation being much less significant than can be seen in connection with the primitive etymologies, may be observed in two respects. On the one hand, Hungarian has many foreign words, particularly recent international culture-words, that do not provide a basis for any further derivatives. On the other hand, it is only a small fraction of foreign

elements, mainly derivatives, where a limited ramification of the word into a family has taken place at some more or less remote stage of the history of Hungarian. This latter category, of course, includes loanwords that have long established themselves in the language and consequently have branched off to form quite an extended family. For example, the Turkic etymology *szűr* 'he strains, filtrates', has spawned many derivatives: *szűrés* 'straining, filtering', *szüret* 'vintage', *szűrő* 'stainer', *szürcsöl* 'he sips, slurps', *szüremkedik* 'he infiltrates an area', *szüretel* 'he harvests', etc., and the words *szüret* and *szűrő*, etc. of the family have become constituents of further derivatives, compounds, etc. However, not even these words can rival the ancient primitive etymologies, which are most inclined to ramify into big families, in productivity.

The ratios of foreign etymologies and the interrelations of various etymological categories can be inferred from the statements made above in connection with the origin of various groups of loanwords. Of course, when frequency ratios are considered, these proportions are different, revealing more about the everyday importance of individual categories. Based on present-day Hungarian texts, the frequency data may be introduced in the following manner: Slavonic 27%, Latin 25%, German 17%, Turkic 16%, neo-Latin 5%, miscellaneous 10% (modern international words are grouped along with the German, neo-Latin, Latin and miscellaneous categories, according to their more immediate sources).

Although the rough present-day ratios as given above represent results of a gradual language-historical accumulation, thus being not only of synchronic but also of diachronic values, foreign etymologies of Hungarian have undergone essential changes as regards the ratios of the individual sub-categories. In the pre-Conquest period, for instance, populous sub-categories such as those from Slavonic, German, Latin and neo-Latin, were not represented at all in the Hungarian language. Apart from a very thin layer of Slavonic words, the classes of foreign etymologies were represented by other East European languages, e.g. of Old Turkic, Iranian, and unknown origin. The first linguistic records also include Slavonic and Latin elements, but no traces of such important sub-categories as German and neo-Latin can be discovered in them.

4. Some of the questions connected with autonomous words will be discussed below along with the morphological structure of the Hungarian lexical stock.

The Phonetic Structure of Words

1. Regularities in the phonetic structure of the Hungarian word and the phonetic changes that took place in Hungarian are treated in a special study in this volume. We may therefore limit the discussion here to some more comprehensive questions which are not examined there.

In the early history of Hungarian, i.e. in the Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric periods, the lexical elements were primarily characterized by a regular alternation of consonantal and vocalic sounds. Consonant clusters occurred mostly in the junction features of nasal unvoiced stops or geminated stops.

Another characteristic feature was that each rootword ended in a short vowel: **tä* 'you', **serä* 'brooklet', *'onts* 'he gives', etc. All this meant that the primitive Uralic, Finno-Ugric and Ugric languages abounded in vowels, i.e. the ratio of consonants and vowels was fairly well balanced. (This state of equilibrium has been preserved ever since by some of the cognate languages, primarily Finnish.)

But during the subsequent phonetic and morphological development of Hungarian the proportion of vowels gradually decreased to the advantage of that of the consonants. This shift of ratio can be accounted for by various reasons: the wear and tear of the stem-final vowels (**vërä* > *vér* 'blood'), the loss of the vowel of the second open syllable (**pajata* > *pajta* 'barn'), joining of morphemes (*szép* + *-ség* > *szépség* 'beauty'), and loanwords abounding in consonant clusters (*kristály* 'crystal', *lajstrom* 'list, register'), etc. Dissolved initial consonant clusters (Slavonic *glista* > Hungarian *giliszta* 'earthworm', etc.) have failed to counterbalance the process.

The gradual shift of the ratio to the advantage of consonants can be tackled by means of statistics as well. Relevant statistical data again refer, as a matter of course, to current speech and not to the lexical forms of words, i.e. they reflect conditions of the language as a whole; the difference of the two aspects, however, is not too significant here. In contradistinction to the more primitive state of equilibrium, the ratio of consonants to vowels was 56 : 44 in the earliest written records and is 58 : 42 in present-day texts.

2. The phonetic structure of Hungarian words reveals a dynamic picture when we examine the functional load of the individual sounds. The changes in ratio are conspicuous in this respect as well. Although no exact results are at hand to reflect the proportional changes throughout the centuries, phonological considerations on the one hand and the etymological examination of the lexical stock on the other, can nevertheless supply information reliable enough for quite a number of changes. For example, the gradual introduction of several consonants (*b, d, g; h, f, v; ty, zs, c;* etc.) into the Hungarian phonetic system not only resulted in new features and occasional shifts of ratios in the phonetic structure of words, but they also created a completely new phonetic basis for Hungarian words during the course of one or two thousand years. How significant a shift may have occurred can be demonstrated by the fundamental changes that took place in high vowels from the time of the written records on. In early records they represent 36·7 per cent of the vowel stock and in present-day texts their ratio is but 16·2 per cent.

Vowels	13th-century Hungarian	Present-day Hungarian
	(in per cent)	
u, ú	12·3	3·1
ü, ű	10·7	1·9
i, í	13·7	11·2

Changes of this kind have several important etymological consequences as well, e.g. in relation to the initial sounds. Thus, for instance, initial *h* (< χ) mainly occurs in ancient etymologies, while *gy* (< *dźs*) is due primarily to the spread of Turkic loanwords. The large-scale dissemination of initial *g* is chiefly due to Slavonic loanwords; while most words with initial *cs* are the result of autonomous word creation. All these changes have chronological significance and facilitate the dating of shifts in the morphological structure of certain Hungarian words.

3. Historical changes in the morphological structure of Hungarian words can also be examined from the point of view of the length of words. In this respect, we have two measures: we may count the sound elements or we may count the number of syllables in the words.

As we have seen above, the CV, VCV, CVCV types of phonetic structure predominated during the period of co-existence. Even in the first stage of the separate development the great majority of words consisted of comparatively short series of sounds. This primitive condition gradually gave way to a tendency of lengthening asserting itself in spite of the appearance of a contrary trend of shortening the words, e.g. by dropping the root-ending short vowels (*utu* > *út* 'way'), or by omitting the vowel of the second open syllable (Slavonic *malina* > Hungarian *málna* 'raspberry'), or by back-formation (*csendes* 'silent' : > *csend* 'silence'), or more recently, by reduction of the word (*direktor* 'manager' : > *diri* 'same') and abbreviation (*termelőszövetkezet* 'agricultural producers' cooperative' : > *téesz* 'same'). The general tendency to lengthen was undoubtedly assisted by increasing adoption of loanwords which were constructed in a series of sounds usually longer than those of primitive Hungarian words. Yet, the basic and most important agent of this lengthening was the accumulation of the result of the various morphological ways of word construction (primarily word-formation and compounding) whose participation in the entire lexical stock is enormous in Hungarian. (For more detail see below.)

The lengthening process of Hungarian words in and after the period in which the first linguistic records were written can be illustrated by the following data:

In the early records, the majority of words consisted of 2 to 6 sounds, this category including 89 per cent of the words. Within this, words of two or three sounds are the most frequent. In recent Hungarian texts, words consisting of 2 to 9 sounds predominate, their share being 77 per cent. Of these, words containing from 3 to 5 sounds have taken the lead. The frequency of long words as given above is still surpassed by the picture reflected in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* where the bulk of words consists of 7 to 10 sounds, with those of 8 sounds in the lead.

Statistics based on the number of syllables per word show the following rates of frequency:

Syllables	13th-century Hungarian	Present-day Hungarian
	(in per cent)	
1	41	20
2	45	38
3	12	27
4	2	12
5 and more	—	3

Morphological System of Words

1. It has been mentioned above that the Hungarian language inherited lexical elements which owed their existence to morphological word construction (formation, incorporation of suffixes and compounding) in comparatively early stages of development, i.e. prior to its separation from the cognate languages. There are several indications, however, to convince us that their absolute number could hardly have exceeded that of morphologically unbroken basic words. Their frequency in speech, owing to the very nature of living practice, must have been much lower than that of the latter category.

It is very likely that the absolute number of morphologically differentiated lexical elements, i.e., those words that have been affected by one or another way of word construction, must have been steadily increasing ever since the separation from the cognate languages; their ratio also rose during the two thousand years of separate existence till the first records were written. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that early Hungarian records have 49 per cent basic words (which are not differentiated morphologically) as opposed to 51 per cent lexical elements that underwent some degree of morphological alteration.

The process made rapid progress from the period of written records. In recent Hungarian, the ratio of morphologically basic words is 19 per cent as against 81 per cent of morphologically modified words. The picture is not too different as revealed by the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language*. There 15 root words stand against 85 morphological formations.

2. The trend of the Hungarian stock of words toward greater differentiation (i.e. growth of the importance of the various methods of word-formation) is even more conspicuous if we take into account the number of root-morphemes contained in words that can be broken down into several morphological elements.

The *Funeral Sermon* which is the first Hungarian running text has only a few words that can be broken down into more than two morphemes: *hara-g-sz-ik* 'he is angry', *kín-z-at* 'tormenting', *szere-lme-s* 'beloved',

bír-ság-nap 'doomsday', etc. Their number increased later, and in recent Hungarian about half of the words that can be broken down morphologically contain more than two root-morphemes. What is more, the language actually abounds in multiple complexes: *össze-fér-het-etlen-ség* 'incompatibility', *jel-ent-és-vál-to-z-ás* 'semantic change', etc.

3. Disregarding a few rare and therefore negligible ways of morphological word-formation (such as back-formation, contraction, contamination, etc.), we have to deal with three main types of word-formation in Hungarian: formation (by means of formative suffixes), incorporation of suffixes, and compounding. As regards productivity, these show considerable differences during the course of linguistic evolution: formation and incorporation of suffixes can be abundantly exemplified from pre-historic times, especially from the Finno-Ugric primitive language; the number of examples showing a steady increase up to the period of the first written records. Of course, compounds are also very early developments in Hungarian, although their share had for a long time been very modest as compared to the two other mentioned categories (the *Funeral Sermon* has only one compound: *bírság-nap* 'doomsday'); they only began to increase in number in more recent centuries.

In a synchronic cross-section the three principal methods of word-formation reveal the following picture:

Types of words	13th-century Hungarian	Present-day Hungarian
	(in per cent)	
Derived words	72	50
Words with incorporated suffix	24	15
Compounds	4	35

The following remarks may provide a better understanding of the statistical picture.

The relatively strong decrease of words with incorporated suffixes can be explained by the fact that the majority of these had come into existence during the early stages of the language; in more recent times this category has shown a very low productivity. For example, the pronominal root specifying the more remote *a-* 'that, there', incorporated suffixes (or merged with suffixes) long before the *Funeral Sermon* was written: *úgy* 'so', *oly* 'such', *ott* 'there', *oda* 'there to', *onnan* 'from there', *az* 'that', *addig* 'until that', *arra* 'in that direction', etc. Their frequency is solely responsible for the fact that this category, whose scope is rather limited since it comprises mostly adverbs, did not decrease much during the course of evolution as compared to the two other categories, namely those of the incessantly productive derived words and compounds. The category of roots with incorporated suffixes (including verbal prefixes and postpositions) shows an

extraordinarily high frequency ratio in common usage. — As for the compounds, they may have been represented by a rather low number in the period of the first written records even if the distortion caused by the relatively short texts is taken into account (though it is practically the same in fifteenth-century records). Expressed in absolute numbers, the productivity of compounding is overwhelming in recent Hungarian: and it is likewise frequency computation that can be made responsible for the fact that they were not represented by a much higher ratio in the above statistics; a considerable proportion of the more recent compounds are those lexical elements whose semantic range is rather restricted and peripheral in occurrence.

The data in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* are very revealing about the productivity of the morphological methods of Hungarian word-formation. Of the ca 58,000 main entries of this dictionary, ca 85 per cent are represented by derivatives and compounds, with fairly equal shares. In addition, the dictionary contains some 75,000 derivatives and 50,000 compounds (inclusive of some 12,000 compounds with verbal prefixes) as sub-entries. Thus the stock of recent Hungarian words is absolutely dominated by derivatives and compounds, the most frequent products of morphological word-formation.

4. In regard to root-morphemes which provide bases for new words, the role of verbs requires particular attention. On the basis of computations it can be stated that more than half of the derivatives have verbs as roots.

Analysis according to Parts of Speech

1. A situation not unlike that existing today is observable in the proportion among the various parts of speech from the earliest times of Hungarian separation, i.e. when co-existence with the related languages ceased. Consequently, no material changes occurred to modify the structure of the Hungarian lexical stock either in its early periods or after the first records were written. At most minor shifts of existing proportions or complementations of certain categories have taken place. A comparatively stable proportion of the main categories is well reflected by the following frequency statistics on the basis of running texts:

Parts of speech	13th-century Hungarian	Present-day Hungarian
	(in per cent)	
Verbs and verbals	28	23
Nouns	39	40
Adjectives	8	17
Pronouns	10	5
Adverbs	9	8
Others	6	7

A conspicuous shift in the proportion of adjectives has resulted from the growth of attributes in recent usage. Pronouns have decreased because they constitute a rather closed, self-contained category whose members had come to life at an early developmental stage, receiving slight reinforcement by new members in subsequent periods.

The distribution of the lexical stock according to parts of speech in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* shows fair agreement with the frequency data of modern Hungarian given above. The percentage of nouns is 52, that of verbs 24, of adjectives 10; 7 per cent of the remaining entries fall to nouns used as adjectives and 5 per cent to other categories.

2. Words which are syntactically ambiguous deserve special mention. The most typical category of these is represented by the noun-verbs referred to above in the chapter dealing with questions of the primitive stock of words. We only wish to add here that the survivors of this ancient category have been joined by other words of this kind which are the results of various morphological and semantic developments: *zár* 'he closes' (verb), *zár* 'lock' (noun); *zavar* 'he disturbs sy' (verb), *zavar* 'chaos' (noun); etc. The nominal members of certain more recent pairs of this kind are often found in specific environments, i.e. with morphological restrictions: *nyit* 'he opens' (verb), and *nyitja valaminek* 'clue, key to sg' (noun); *sodor* 'he sweeps away' (verb), and *sodra valaminek* 'the current (of water)' (noun), etc. Counting dialectal occurrences, modern Hungarian has several hundred such ambivalent words (noun-verbs). Most of them show a duality of verbal-nominal character, although verb-and-adjective forms also occur, e.g. *agg* 'he becomes aged' (verb), and *agg* 'old' (adjective).

A special category of ambivalent words in Hungarian, which has occurred with a fairly high rate of frequency for a long time is that of nouns used as adjectives. As has been indicated above, 7 per cent of the vocabulary in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* belongs to this category. Recent Hungarian has several ethnic names of this kind: *magyar* 'Hungarian', *angol* 'English', etc.; names of substances and minerals: *fa* 'wood', *arany* 'gold', etc.; and many a word denoting years of age or condition: *vén* 'old', *gazdag* 'rich', *rab* 'prisoner', etc.

3. The question of ambivalent nouns used as adjectives leads us to the problem of shifting word classes. Numerous instances of ambivalence have developed: in some, the transition from one class to another permitted a given word to maintain its former character. In other cases the transfer was completed by a full prevalence of the new characteristic feature leaving no chance for the word to maintain its former meaning.

The most typical cases of transfer from one category to another are found among the participles (verbals). Participles often assumed an adjectival character by separating partially or fully from their verbal base. The presence of the verb *forr* 'it boils' can be felt in the adjective *forró* 'hot', since its antecedent, the participle *forró* 'sg that is boiling', is still used in certain structures. However, many former participles, like *savanyú* 'sour', *keserű* 'bitter', *sűrű* 'thick', *szomorú* 'sad', etc. which have become adjectives long

ago reveal their verbal bases only in some derived words. For example **keser-* : > *keseredik* 'it becomes bitter'. Participles which develop into nouns are also frequent occurrences in Hungarian. Participial and nominal values are equally present in some of them: *tanító* 'teaching' (present participle), and 'teacher' (noun), *sült* 'baked, roasted' (past participle), and 'steak' (noun), *jövendő* 'sg that will come' (future participle), and 'future' (noun), etc. Some of these are in a state in which the process of substantivization has been essentially completed either because their base has become extinct or because of some other morphological development: *tető* 'roof', *mező* 'field'; *csusza* 'a kind of noodle dish', *hulla* 'corpse', etc.

Adjectives ending in *-s* have often developed into nouns, a process mainly due to the back-formation of some constructions: *asztalos mester* 'master joiner' : > *asztalos* 'joiner'; further examples: *lakatos* 'locksmith', *kocsis* 'coachman', *béres* 'hired agricultural worker', etc.

Sometimes adverbs changed into nouns. As a result, numerous Hungarian words have an adverbial as well as a nominal character: *közel* 'near' and 'a nearby place', *távol* 'far' and 'remote place', *reggel* 'in the morning' and 'morning', *éjjel* 'at night' and 'night', etc. In some of them, however, the adverbial character has been obscured, e.g. *rokon* 'relative'.

Apart from the established changes, the Hungarian language is abounding in instances of occasional shifts of the grammatical character. Phenomena of this kind are of frequent occurrence. As a matter of fact, such occasional types of transfer gave rise to the above-mentioned semantic changes in the most varied periods of Hungarian linguistic development. In this way, the Hungarian language has always been characterized by the presence of the most diverse types of ambivalent words.

4. Shifts of syntactic function and concomitant grammatical change of word class have resulted in the differentiation of some lexical categories in the domain of relational words.

Adverbs associated with nouns may have in some cases assumed the role of postpositions as a result of prolonged usage: *mellett* 'beside', *előtt* 'in front of, before', *után* 'behind', etc.; e.g. *a ház mellett* 'beside the house'. This course of development started long before the Conquest period, although new postpositions have since come into existence. Some adverbs have become verbal prefixes through their permanent combination with verbs: *ki* 'out of sg', *el* 'away', *szét* 'asunder, apart', etc.; for example, *kimegy* 'he goes out', etc. Some of these verbal prefixes began to develop around the time of the first written records; others developed much later, and some are still in the process of developing.

Articles began to evolve during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By and large they followed the same course of development as in other languages. If the word begins with a consonant, it takes the definite article *a;* if it begins with a vowel, it takes *az*. Both come from the demonstrative pronoun 'that'. The indefinite article *egy* has evolved from the numeral *egy* 'one'.

The development and use of these relational words (particles) have enlarged the Hungarian system of the parts of speech, but have not essentially changed the relations of the main categories.

Semantic Relations

1. As in the case of other languages, the meaning content of individual Hungarian words has been steadily expanding, a process resulting in the appearance of numerous semantic variants throughout the long periods of linguistic history. Obviously, a narrower group of words with two meanings or even words of wider semantic range must have come into existence long before the disintegration of Finno-Ugric. This process of semantic extension continued and grew in the separate life of Hungarian, producing an ever-increasing number of polysemic words. More than that, this semantic development brought about a long series of semantic ramifications in the layers of basic words whose frequency was highest in everyday usage. There are several criteria to indicate that the verb *áll* had, in addition to its basic sense 'he stands', three more meanings in the prehistoric times: (1) 'it is in a position, he stays somewhere', (2) 'it does not proceed', (3) 'it stiffens up, it receives an erect posture'. The other meanings of this word can be demonstrated from the separate period of the language, partly from written records. For example: (4) 'it lives/exists', (5) 'it is valid/it holds true (e.g. a statement)', (6) 'it stands/endures sg', (7) 'it gets in a position/condition', (8) 'it depends on sg', (9) 'it consists of sg/it becomes manifest in sg', (10) 'it endures/stays for a while', (11) 'it is worth sg/it costs sg', (12) 'it is in process/progress', etc.

Of course, we cannot even approximate the ratio of monosemantic and polysemic words for the early periods of Hungarian language history. Nor are we in a much better position in respect to the present-day situation, owing to the well-known difficulties in establishing the number of semantic variants. Yet, some points of approach as to the percentages of living words are offered by the semantic statistics based on the entries in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language*. Nevertheless, topical examination cannot consider here the full inventory of independent entries in the dictionary, since most of the compound entry words are precluded from the possibility of any semantic differentiation, being mainly of peripheral character and special semantic content. A more reliable picture can be obtained if examination is restricted to the stock of basic words and their primary derivatives (i.e., about half of the full inventory). By such a limitation, the stock of modern Hungarian stem-words can be fairly well tackled. Therefore it is useful to contrast these data with the full inventory:

Number of meanings	Full entry	Bases and primary derivatives
	(in per cent)	
One	53	21
Two	23	30
Three	12	19
Four	5	12
Five	3	5
Six or more	4	13

Since the above statistical distribution concerns the entire stock of present-day Hungarian vocabulary, it cannot in any way reflect the particular semantic relations. For example, there are essential differences among the grammatical-lexical categories from the aspect of the number of meanings. It also depends on how old a word is in the language; this question, however, reaches back to the problems of etymological categories. As has been shown above, the primitive etymologies are apt to take up several (and sometimes a strikingly high number of) semantic variants. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of modern international terms belong to the monosemantic category.

Morphological structure is of decisive importance in semantic relations: in contrast to root-words which are usually polysemic, morphological derivatives have, in general, a much narrower semantic range. The bulk of compounds and multiple complexes belongs to the group of monosemantic words. Semantic quality is not independent of the grammatical category of the word, either. Nouns, adjectives, and especially verbs dominate a much wider semantic range than do the other parts of speech.

2. It follows from the regularities of semantic changes which tend to represent a language universal that Hungarian has, by and large, the same types of semantic changes as can be seen in other languages. Phenomena of expansion or restriction of meaning, metonymy based on affinity of similarity, semantic change from the concrete to the abstract, etc. are usual occurrences in the Hungarian linguistic history as well. Therefore no detailed examination of these will be given here. Only a few typical types of semantic changes will be referred to below, which again cannot be regarded as being restricted to Hungarian.

A typical instance of semantic change occurs when the meaning of words denoting rank and authority suffers a pejorative modification: *úr* 'king/prince' → 'gentleman, man', *asszony* 'queen/princess' → 'woman', *jobbágy* 'lord' → 'serf', *hadnagy* 'chief/commander' → 'lieutenant', etc. Figurative use of the names of the parts of the human body comprises the main type of transfer of names based on similarities: *szem* 'eye' → 'grain (of wheat), drop (of rain), a single (pearl), eye (of knitwork)', etc.; further types are: the generalization of denominations originally expressing some primitive action: *sír* 'he cries' → 'fire, wood, wind gives a sound; a musical instrument or a song, etc. appeals to the more tender sentiments'; in other cases names of animals denote some human peculiarity: *marha* 'cattle', *szamár* 'donkey', *ökör* 'ox', *barom* 'beast', etc. → 'stupid, silly'; etc. Examples of short endings owing to morphological reduction of compounds or word constructions are typical for both the early and the recent periods of the Hungarian language: *szarvas állat* 'horned animal' → *szarvas* 'deer', *hintószekér* 'rocking coach' → *hintó* 'landau', *tokaji bor* 'wine of Tokaj' → *tokaji* 'Tokay wine', *gyulai kolbász* 'sausage made at Gyula' → *gyulai* 'a special kind of sausage', etc.

3. Hungarian synonymy is on the whole the same as in any other language. The three main grammatical categories (verbs, nouns, adjectives) are rich in synonyms but the richest of all is that of the adjectives. Hungar-

ian has many series of adjectives whose members differ only in the shade of their meanings. They mean the same logically, but have different stylistic value, inasmuch as they are associated with different emotional content: *öreg, vén, agg, idős, koros,* etc. 'old'; *csúf, csúnya, rút, ronda, ocsmány,* etc. 'ugly', etc. The attributive devices which are particularly varied in Hungarian literary usage, especially in poetic diction, are mainly based on this faculty of the language.

4. Homonymy is also widespread in Hungarian. Disregarding the so-called pseudo-homonyms originating from one and the same root (see the noun-verbs or the words characterized by an obvious duality of meaning), the number of real homonyms reaches hundreds in the Hungarian language.

The real homonyms present themselves mostly in pairs, although sometimes they occur by threes or by fours. For example: *ár* 'price' — 'flood' — 'awl' — 'are (a square measure)'. Morphologically they consist of a few sounds, but some foreign etymologies supply instances contrary to this rule: *borostyán* 'ground-ivy' — 'amber'. As to grammatical category, they mainly allow for a division into different groups of words, the majority showing a duality of verbs and nouns: *áll* 'he stands' (verb) — 'chin' (noun), *ég* 'it burns' (verb) — 'sky' (noun), *ír* 'he writes' (verb) — 'balm' (noun), *nő* 'it grows' (verb) — 'woman' (noun), *szeg* 'he hems' (verb) — 'nail' (noun), *vár* 'he waits' (verb) — 'fortress' (noun), etc. Homonyms of identical grammatical categories are, for the most part, pairs of verbs or nouns: *bújt* 'he instigates' — 'he layers, provines'; *dúc* 'pigeon-house' — 'strut'; etc.

It goes without saying that homonyms create no inconvenience in regard to mutual understanding in conversation and less so in writing because they fulfil different functions in the sentence and occupy different places in the morphological system.

Functional Problems

Word-Geographical Relations

1. The chapter dealing with dialects in this volume also touches on the problems of dialectal words. This circumstance exempts us from presenting a thorough discussion of the language-geographical relations of the Hungarian vocabulary. A few historical remarks will suffice here.

From the viewpoint of the sociology of language, linguistic expressions of the notions belonging to the cultural material and spiritual spheres of the Hungarian people have been divided, from the most initial stages, into two main groups. One of them included elements known to the whole body of the nation while the other such ones as were familiar to and used by certain portions of the population. The first group covered the most fundamental and therefore most frequently used notions, the latter comprised more peripheral notions, although no sharp dividing line can be drawn between the two. Owing to various reasons known from the history of linguistic changes, a process of continual equalization and mutual infiltration can be observed between them.

The boundaries to which Hungarian words of limited language-sociological value have disseminated are of an areal-geographical nature. Thus the use of such words has been characteristic for a given region of the language area. The problems of dialect words of the Hungarian language cannot be traced further back than the times following the Conquest, i.e. the final settlement of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin. The reasons are obvious: on the one hand, words of Hungarian vocabulary could hardly assume a territorially-bound, that is to say, geographically stable character in the earlier periods of prolonged migrations, and on the other hand, no sources of territorial, i.e. dialectal investigation are open to us for the times preceding the appearance of the first written records, whose language-historical evidence is powerfully supported by contemporary data of geographical (settlement) linguistics.

2. It has been a very favourable circumstance for the development and survival of Hungarian dialectal words that relative to their actual number the Hungarians have always inhabited rather extensive areas stretching from the eastern foothills of the Alps to the Moldavian regions east of the Carpathian ranges.

In these vast territories, words came into being by the thousands and tens of thousands either as autonomous creations or as the result of borrowing. Most of these words have never exceeded the scope of their original district. Thus, for example, many words typical of the Szekely dialects have moved to the western parts of the language area but have remained the exclusive possessions of the eastern regions. The dictionary of Ferenc Páriz Pápai (1708) designates as "antique" a number of words that have continued to exist in the mentioned eastern areas: *buc* 'thigh', *csötört* 'quarter', *csúnya* 'hazelnut', *koszta* 'stork', *kulyok* 'fist', *odor* 'den', *tege* 'yesterday', etc.

Conversely, the large surface of the Hungarian language area rendered it possible for many originally restricted dialect words to spread towards farther regions of the Hungarian-speaking areas. For example, several terms relating to sheep-raising which were, as a rule, borrowed from the Romanians, have spread from Transylvania towards the Great Plain: *berbécs* 'ram', *bács* 'shepherd', *esztena* 'pen, shed for the sheep', *orda* 'sweet curd of sheep', etc.

In the same manner, the extensiveness of the settlement area has been responsible for numerous words, that had earlier enjoyed a much wider currency, finding refuge and surviving to this date in some more remote parts of the Hungarian-inhabited territories. A considerable number of ancient words have undergone territorial-functional changes of this kind: *mony* 'egg, testicle', *mál* 'breast, abdomen', *szalu* 'axe', *eme* 'female', *húgy* 'star', *süly* 'pimple', etc.

The comparative stability of some words and the instability or mobility of others can be fairly well accounted for by related economic, social and cultural conditions. The originally Slovakian word *grulya* 'potato' used by some minor Palots dialect regions has been restricted to such narrow confines for no other reason than the obvious fact that potato-growing in

the Slovakian fashion became customary in that narrow region only. At the same time, a much more extensive distribution of the German etymology *krumpli* 'potato' and its variants (*kolompér*, *kumpéra*, etc.) suggests a much more extensive western, more exactly German, cultural influence in the field of vegetable-growing.

3. The problems of dialectal words in Old Hungarian can be clarified by valuable data from geographical names. The common-noun components of the geographical vocabulary are strongly suggestive of the particular territories where the words in question used to exist. Old Hungarian geographical names have led us to recognize, for example, that the ancient etymology *jó* 'flowing water, river' was used only by the eastern Hungarians after the Conquest. It has been established on similar grounds that the western area had words like *gyűr* 'mound' and *öttevény* 'embankment' in the Middle Ages. Words like *gorond* 'hill, island' and *erge* 'brook' were restricted to the northeastern dialects at that time.

4. Considering the general growth of the stock of words and the fact that the differentiating forces proved to be rather efficient in the history of dialects — in spite of a trend of integration in the last few decades — we may conclude that the number of dialectal words in Hungarian has been constantly increasing during the evolution of the language. The tendency of constant growth could not be essentially influenced either by the ephemeral quality of some of these short-lived words or by the attaining of admittance to literary or common usage of others because the loss in these two channels was more than adequately compensated for by the birth of new dialectal words.

The above statements were made primarily with reference to the past history of Hungarian dialects. As a matter of course, the constant increase of the dialectal stock of words was slowed down, if not stopped altogether, by the changed conditions of modern life. We can, in fact, witness the death of masses of dialect words. Nevertheless, the number of lexical elements in this group is very considerable even in present-day Hungarian. Naturally, we are not in a position to produce exact statistical data on the historical growth of Hungarian dialect words, nor can we assess the actual size of the dialectal stock, which must be enormous even in its present state of decay. The reason for this is to be found in the practically uncountable number of words in any vocabulary. The lexical material contained by the general or regional dialect dictionaries that appeared during the last decades can at best give an inkling of the richness of the material. The new large dialect dictionary now in preparation will contain dialect words by the hundreds of thousands.

Questions of Technical Terms

1. Apart from territorial differentiation, Hungarian vocabulary shows a high degree of vertical differentiation, which points back to the early stages of social, occupational and cultural stratification of society. Here

again we consider rare words as belonging to the more peripheral notional spheres, since it is these that require primary importance from the viewpoint of stratification according to groups and layers of population.

In the social and linguistic conditions of the pre-Conquest time the technical terms of Hungarian could not be expected to assume a higher degree of differentiation along occupational, social, etc. lines, although there are signs of such a tendency as early as that time. Warfare, domestic work, various kinds of primitive craftsmanship, religious beliefs (shamanistic rites), etc. obviously produced technical terms that were not used by the entire population but only by specific occupational groups. Of course, it was a long way leading from the primitive conditions, i.e. underdeveloped terminological differentiation, to the developed, highly differentiated technical terms of the present days.

2. The comparative study of the vocabulary of early records provides a fairly reliable basis for the clarification of problems connected with the development of Hungarian terminology from the late medieval period onwards. Texts of registers composed for a special purpose contain hundreds of words which had been used by special groups with diverse cultural, educational, or occupational standards. This process of development of the vocabulary bears evidence of the quantitative growth and qualitative differentiation which ensued with ever-greater dynamism during the various stages of an autonomously developing Hungarian language. However interesting the path of development is, we have to content ourselves here with a few examples.

In the domain of spiritual life, for instance, we see a special vocabulary developed by the erudites of literary circles who produced mainly religious writings (the codices) of the time. In the period of late-medieval manuscripts, autonomous creations, mainly translations of Latin terms, like *mondék* 'book, lesson, reading', *zengés* 'living word', *törlejt* 'compose a literary work', *ihlés* 'inspiration', *pogánybölcs* 'philosopher, poet', *könyvesház* 'library', etc. were most probably unknown to the wider public and failed to become more widespread with the advance of education, since most of them died out after a short life.

Numerous scientific terms of Old Hungarian origin came to light equally from late-medieval sources: nomenclatures and glossaries. Many sets of special terms, partly autonomous developments and partly foreign etymologies, are contained in these products of contemporary treatises on botany, zoology, astronomy, medicine, etc. A sixteenth-century record on veterinary medicine, for example, includes several dozen technical terms: *menyülés* 'dislocation of a joint', *rokkanás* 'foot-founder', *zabálás* 'nausea, satiety', *túr* 'ulcer', *himpók* 'footrot', *szapornica* 'strangles, farcy', etc.

It is the handicraft industry that produced the most and best old Hungarian specialized technical terms. The various branches of craftsmanship were introduced mainly by German masters into Hungary; consequently this terminology contains a lower number of original Hungarian words than words of German origin. It is worth mentioning here that we know several hundred terms used by seventeenth-century boot-

makers: *pitling* 'hide of weakling animals', *fisléder* 'small piece of hide', *strupli* 'boot strap', *bige* 'child's boot', *bicskia* 'boot-maker's knife', *musta* 'iron club for smoothing hides', etc.

Hungarian thieves' argot represents a colourful segment of the vocabulary. Glossaries of such terms are known from the second half of the eighteenth century. It is a remarkable feature of the words contained in them that they are mainly autonomous creations based on metonymy, resemblance, and the like: *ördög* 'lock' (viz. 'devil'), *kutya* 'heyduck' (viz. 'dog'), *fejes* 'officer' (viz. 'a capital man'), *füles* 'horse' (viz. 'eared animal'), *szuszogó* 'pig' (viz. 'snorter, puffer'), *perge* 'cart' (viz. 'roller, turner ⟨wheel⟩'), etc. This group of terminology has recently been reinforced by considerable additions of foreign (Gipsy, German, Rotwelsch, Yiddish, Hebrew, etc.) elements.

3. The problems of technical or professional terminology, like those of dialect words, cannot be treated statically because the function of technical terms is also dependent on areal and temporal changes. Owing to these changes, words that were once used as special terms have become common Hungarian words in the course of time. Such, for example, are numerous words of French—German origin connected with apparel which received wide popularity in the nineteenth century, although they were familiar only to the members of the aristocracy, the nobility, and to the wealthy burghers in the eighteenth century: *kosztüm* 'dress, tailored garment', *parfüm* 'perfume', *puder* 'powder', etc. At the same time, a number of words that had been more currently used in older times were restricted to narrower technical spheres. Thus, the names of many spices commonly known in the nineteenth century are now found at most in the terminology of cooks: *gyömbér* 'ginger', *tárkony* 'tarragon', *sáfrány* 'saffron', etc. But terminological changes took place within the various trades as well. Just to mention one example, the special terms of early Hungarian grammarians have for the most part been lost. They have been replaced by modern and often very recent terms.

The vertical stratification of the Hungarian cultural-occupational terminology is, as in any other language, interwoven with a system of geographical differentiations. This holds particularly true for the more popular trades where considerable differences are likely to occur between the various dialect types.

4. The general trend of development resulting in a continuous and powerful increase of the Hungarian lexical stock could not be hindered by the contrary processes of older terms that had been partly excluded from usage and partly adopted by literary usage. Lexical growth has become particularly conspicuous during the past decades, owing to the advance of material and spiritual culture and the concomitant differentiation of modern life. While the further development of Hungarian dialectal vocabulary has been seriously affected by the increased role of the standard language, the spread of which naturally ousts dialectal forms, the quantitative growth of technical terms is on the whole a phenomenon independent of stan-

dard usage dominating wider and wider fields. We have referred to this before. The quantitative growth and qualitative differentiation of Hungarian terminology in the most recent times is to be regarded as one of the characteristic features of the development of Hungarian.

Of course, it would be frustrating to attempt a statistical representation of this development. Nevertheless, one thing can be stated with certainty: terms of the most diverse occupational branches are represented by exceedingly high numbers in modern Hungarian. Even the most voluminous scientific, technical, industrial, and other dictionaries of recent times permit us no more than an approximation of their numbers. It has been made clear, however, that a considerable portion of recent Hungarian technical terms consists of autonomous developments whose number is incessantly increasing by way of word-formation, and chiefly through compounding and very often also by word-for-word translation of foreign expressions (calques). Another part owes its existence to the adoption or adaptation of international technical terms. This situation might therefore be characterized by saying that modern Hungarian terminology is more and more submerged in the mainstream of contemporary international usage.

Evolution of the Vocabulary of Standard Hungarian

1. Another chapter in this volume treats the development of standard Hungarian and the connected processes of idealization, normalization and unification which reach back to a comparatively remote period. Initial steps were taken as early as the end of the Middle Ages, and again after a temporary upswing in the second half of the sixteenth century, increased efforts to develop a standard have been continually at work ever since the end of the eighteenth century. The same refers, of course, to the vocabulary of standard and literary usage, which has reached its present state of refinement in a prolonged and gradual accumulation and selection of the lexical stock. The developmental course has always been closely connected with the actually prevailing social-cultural processes.

2. The vocabulary of the Hungarian standard language stems from four main sources.

(a) Of course, it has its foundation in those lexical elements which received the widest currency in Hungarian usage long before a superdialectal language ideal, i.e. a standard and literary language was developed. As adequate linguistic expressions of fundamental notions, these must have been in general use in nearly every dialect. Owing to the crucial function of this so-called fundamental vocabulary, further to the basically amalgam character of Hungarian standard and literary language (built on several dialects), words like *eszik* 'he eats', *néz* 'he sees', *alma* 'apple', *eső* 'rain', *boldog* 'happy', *sok* 'many', *egy* 'one', *hátul* 'behind', *hogy* 'that', etc. together with many thousands of similar lexical elements survived in the standard.

(b) During subsequent stages, the fundamental layer of Hungarian literary and standard usage described above incorporated a very consider-

able number of dialectal elements. The majority of these dialect words owe their general recognition to the standard practice, which sought to exalt them to the highest and most universal levels of the language. It has been made clear elsewhere that as a result of various social-cultural factors the eastern, especially the northeastern dialect occupied a prominent place in the development of standard Hungarian, exceeding in this respect the scope of all other dialects. Consequently dialect words used in these areas were more apt to be incorporated in the standard. In historical relations, the epoch of the Enlightenment and the Reform Period were the most favourable for dialect words to attain the rank of standard (i.e. the period covering the last third of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries). Therefore the mass invasion of dialect words into the more generally prevailing forms of usage took place during those periods. In this manner dialectal elements of a very narrow region not infrequently made their way into the standard, e.g. words earlier known in the northeast, such as *lepke* 'butterfly', *ajak* 'lip', *pata* 'hoof', etc. or in Baranya county, like *burgonya* 'potato', have received general acceptance. The function of certain former dialect words had often been modified deliberately by the planned activity of what is termed the Language Reform Movement which came to life around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a view to increasing the lexical stock of the literary language. But similar endeavours can be seen at work both before and after that period. Such dialect words as *góc* 'focus', *páholy* 'box in the theatre', *rikkancs* 'news-boy', *hanyag* 'careless', etc. had been introduced by the language reformers into the standard, sometimes even at the expense of forcibly modifying or changing their meaning, i.e., adapting them to the actual needs or gaps in Hungarian literary usage.

(c) Many a lexical element has also joined the fundamental layer of Hungarian literary and standard language from earlier technical usage of certain group or stratum units. Special terms of this kind were disseminated by literary men, scientists, technicians, etc. Others have received wider currency in the general growth of modern life that made it imperative that earlier less-known notions of certain branches of science, technology, economics, etc. should be generally recognized. A considerable part of group- and stratum words were transfused into the standard language from the domain of international culture words. Some of these became part and parcel of the Hungarian standard more than a hundred years ago: *diplomata* 'diplomat', *klinika* 'clinic', *beton* 'concrete', etc. Others again have followed this course in very recent times: *atom* 'atom', *penicillin* 'penicillin', *televízió* 'television', etc.

(d) The Hungarian standard language has not only inherited words from other groups and strata of the lexical stock but it also has developed them autonomously. Examples of this "autonomous increase" are the artificial creations of the Language Reform Movement that allow of no classification in any of the previously mentioned three groups. The particular linguistic movement which took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries produced terms (exigencies of socially recognized needs) in such quantities and in such a short time, which is unusual in the

history of any other European language. Owing to the special circumstances of their birth, these words penetrated standard spoken Hungarian from the side of literary usage.

3. The important role played by the Language Reform Movement in shaping Hungarian vocabulary requires a cursory glance.

Part of the words created by the Reform Movement are quite ordinary and regular linguistic formations; they are in full agreement with the rules of Hungarian morphology. Word-formation, compounding and back-formation are the principal processes involved. Since the stylistic project of some reformers was markedly characterized by a tendency to shun long words, back-formation was one of their favourite methods of word creation. A considerable portion of back-formations are from verbs whose final *-l* was severed: *vizsga* 'examination' (<: *vizsgál* 'he examines'), *eszme* 'idea' (<: *eszmél* 'he realizes sg'), etc; adjectives ending in *s* were also made points of departure for them: *dölyf* 'pride' (<: *dölyfös* 'proud, haughty'), *magány* 'solitude' (<: *magányos* 'solitary'), etc.

On the other hand, morphologically irregular formations defying all accepted rules of word-formation are equally present in this group. Such are, for example, the derivatives produced by means of formerly non-existent formatives: *alak-zat* 'formation', *jár-da* 'pavement', etc.; words formed from suffixed nouns: *kézbe-sít* 'he delivers', *szembe-sít* 'he confronts', etc. Such are, further, the compounds where verbal roots are used as nominal anterior constituents: *fek-hely* 'resting place', *röp-irat* 'pamphlet', etc.; unsuffixed adverbial compounds unknown to earlier Hungarian usage, whose majority is a sheer word-for-word translation of a German original: *vérszegény* 'anemic' (<: German *blutarm* 'same'), *szolgálatkész* 'obedient' (<: German *dienstfertig* 'same'), etc. For the sake of brevity, certain compounds were contracted: *lég* 'air' (<: *levegő-ég* 'same'), *könnyelmű* 'reckless' (<: (<: *könnyű elméjű* 'same' ~ German *leichtsinnig* 'same'), etc.

Whether regular or irregular from the morphological aspect, calques were very popular with the language reformers adhering to Latin and especially German patterns: formations: *pincér* 'waiter' (<: *pince* 'cellar' ~ German *Kellner* 'waiter'), *anyag* 'substance' (<: *anya* 'mother' ~ Latin *materia*), *udvarias* 'courteous' (<: *udvar* 'court' ~ German *höflich*), etc.; compounds: *előítélet* 'prejudice' (<: *elő* 'fore' + *ítélet* 'judgment' ~ Latin *praejudicium*, German *Vorurteil*), *álláspont* 'standpoint' (<: *állás* 'stand' + *pont* 'point' ~ German *Standpunkt*), etc.

In this manner the language reformers produced several ten thousand words. The queerest and most irregular of these formations died out in the course of time. Others have become established and survive to this date. The present-day standard language has several thousands of both the regular and the irregular products of the Language Reform Movement. These are such important elements of the language that they are indispensable to the modern speaker.

4. Hungarian literary and standard language shows a rainbow-pattern transition to other autonomous types of the native idiom. In a

similar way, its standardized stock of words maintains close connections with special lexical elements of the most diverse dialects, group- and stratum languages, etc. The existence of these words, or groups of words, representing a transition from the language-sociological point of view, can be accounted for precisely by the particular features of the process in which Hungarian standard and literary usage has evolved, that is, by the origin of its lexical stock and by the historically changed function of the words. The uncertainties connected with their appraisal and their language-sociological categorization are adequate reflections of this particular historical motion, i.e., this special phase of transition. Of course, the transitional character of even a very high number of words cannot exempt us from the obligation to take stock of Hungarian standard vocabulary as an expression of the actual evolutional stage of the Hungarian idiom.

Size of the Hungarian Lexicon

1. The size of the Hungarian lexical stock, as that of any other language, cannot be exactly estimated. The reasons for this are readily understood. In a diachronic relation, that is for times in the remote past, the question cannot be tackled at all, and also a synchronic survey of recent Hungarian can be feasible by way of very rough assessments only.

2. From the diachronic point of view a continual increase of the Hungarian lexical stock is a matter of fact. It is beyond doubt that this vocabulary has grown immensely during a period of three thousand years following its final segregation from related languages. The circumstance that the birth-rate of words has always exceeded the death-rate of words in the various periods of autonomous development of the language can be readily explained by the permanently changing life conditions of the nation, by an incessant development of its material and spiritual culture, and by the generally prevailing rules of the self-propagation of the lexical stock of any language. But beyond these considerations, the general course of quantitative growth can be fairly well measured with the help of linguistic methods, i.e., by establishing the chronology of facts and processes of autonomous word creation and of borrowing. However, these facts cannot be represented statistically.

Nor can we expect to obtain any statistical information from the written records which may be numerous, but they still fail to cover the full scope of the stock of words once used by the spoken language, let alone the fact that the actual vocabulary contained in them has not yet been systematically collected. The largest language-historical collection of Hungarian words, *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár* (Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language) contains data from the literary vocabulary of Hungarian from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries; it includes some 50,000 lexical elements. It is true that this stock has increased by some ten thousand words published in other language-historical collections, but even with this addition considered the stock collected so far is hardly more than a slight indication of the immeasurable contemporary spoken language.

The great dictionary of Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi, published from 1862 to 1874 and compiled with a pretence for a synchronic representation of the stock then known and used provides a quantitative insight into nineteenth-century Hungarian vocabulary. These volumes contain about 105,000 entries. Subsequent dictionaries of Hungarian in the last century, whose number is rather remarkable, complemented this work by an addition equalling about half the stock collected in it. It is perhaps not useless to mention here that, although individual vocabularies and literary reflections thereof are far from being of any relevance to the actual lexical stock of a period, those Hungarian classics of the last century which have been examined from this point of view (namely János Arany, Sándor Petőfi and Mór Jókai) contained about 20,000 to 30,000 words each. This is in fair agreement with the vocabulary used by classics in other literatures (e.g. Shakespeare contains 24,000 words and Victor Hugo 28,000 words).

The lexical stock of not one single period but of a span of two centuries (from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the twentieth century) is reflected in the *Akadémiai nagyszótár* (Great Dictionary of the Academy) currently in manuscript and awaiting publication. This collection includes about 750,000—800,000 entries. (This number shows a fair agreement with that of the entries in the large Finnish dictionary, in manuscript, which contains 840,000 entries.)

3. Concerning the elaborated stock of living Hungarian vocabulary, the following data may supply some information.

The vocabulary in the *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language), a collection of standard and quasi-standard words of the language, lists some 190,000 entries. Several Hungarian specialist dictionaries have appeared recently. Each of these covers 30,000—50,000 lexical elements of the more peripheral types. The stock of the *Új magyar tájszótár* (New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary) in preparation, comprising a considerable number of dialect words, includes some 80,000 entries.

It should not be lost from sight that while overlaps between the mentioned dictionaries are inevitable the lexical stock used in living practice must exceed the collections of words contained in them.

Based on thoroughly considered estimations, the full stock of living Hungarian words can be said to lie somewhere between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000. (These data again agree with the means established for other major languages. The full stock of English words is considered to be around 1,250,000.)

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HUNGARIAN PROPER NAMES

by

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PERSONAL NAMES (ANTHROPONYMS)

Terms during the Earliest Periods

1. We lack both direct information and primary data on those lexical items which went into the formation of personal names during the pre-Conquest period (before 896 A. D.) in Hungarian history. We must therefore approach the question of what types of names existed and what the practices of name-giving were during that period of Hungarian history by relying on indirect inferences from three areas: (a) general customs connected with name-giving among primitive peoples; (b) the ancient stock of names in the related Uralic languages; (c) sources on the conditions which prevailed after 896 A. D., i.e., the stock of words in Old Hungarian written records. However, such inferences as can be made from (a) permit only a vague and very general approach to the question. The inferences from (b) are rather limited in scope because the available data on the stock of personal names in the languages most closely related to Hungarian are not completely adequate, and also because work on Finno-Ugrian comparative onomasiology has not as yet been systematically undertaken. Thus, we must rely mainly on the inferences obtained from the source specified in (c), all the more so since we have at our disposal an ample collection of personal names from the written records of the two or three centuries following the Conquest. These permit us to set up such primitive types of onomastic terms as must have been organic continuations of earlier practices.

On the basis of the evidence that can be deduced from various points of departure, we may state that Hungarian customs of name-giving in pre-Conquest times were characterized, in the main, by the following features:

Structurally, the names must have been representative of what is called the *one-element type of name-giving*. This means that each person was distinguished by one single name. At the initial stage, the overwhelming majority of the names may have developed out of the ancient, genuine Uralic (Finno-Ugric) stock of the Hungarian vocabulary. An obviously minor, but by no means negligible portion of borrowed names may have also been represented by linguistic elements derived first of all from the Turkic, then from Indo-European (Iranian), and possibly also from other East-European peoples. Morphologically — owing to the preponderance of the Finno-Ugric elements — a considerable part of the anthroponyms must have been root-words of the VCV (V = vowel, C = consonant) or the CVCV types. As the time of the Conquest approached, secondary formations of root-words may have become more significant, the means of formation being, for the most part, simple one-element diminutive suffixes. Semantically, a certain

degree of correlation must be supposed to have existed in most instances between the meaning of a given name and its bearer. Thus, e.g., totemistic names or names applied metaphorically with reference to circumstances, attributes, events, etc., must have been very numerous. All these will be amply exemplified by instances listed from the so-called secular personal names of the next period of name-giving.

2. Regarding the custom of name-giving around the time of the Hungarian Conquest, we have only one extant source, the historical treatise by Constantine VII (called Porphyrogenitus). This is at the same time the earliest source for customs of name-giving during the period preceding the Conquest. This Byzantine Emperor wrote his work in 950 and 951 A.D. Dealing with times before the Hungarian Conquest (895 A.D), he lists the names of a few Hungarians of distinction from the family circle of the ruling prince Árpád and from the ranks of the chieftains of the Hungarian tribes. His collection of names unfortunately falls short of supplying satisfactory information about the Hungarian name-giving customs in the ninth and tenth centuries because the names recorded are comparatively few and are not related to the average conditions obtaining among the Hungarian rank and file. In addition, the names probably recorded from hearsay and rendered in Greek orthography are not free of uncertainties arising from difficulties of spelling and interpretation. Nevertheless, we are able to ascertain that all the names are of the one-element type, their roots being composed partly of Hungarian, partly of Turkic linguistic elements, and the suffixes appended to them being, in the main, of diminutive, hypocoristic function.

Here we give a few examples of personal names probably formed on the basis of Hungarian roots or of roots which had become Hungarianized. Besides the original Greek form, we also present the form in which the name was presumably pronounced, as well as the connotation it had in the common Hungarian idiom of the time: *λεβεδίας* (*Lëβëdi* 'little existing one, little living one'), *'αλμούτζης* (*Álmucsi* 'sleepy' or 'little dream'), *'αρπαδή* (*Árpádi* 'little grain of barley'), *φαλῆς* and *φαλίτζιν* (*Fáli* and *Fálicsi* 'eater' and 'little eater'), *'εζέλεχ* (*Ézëlëγ* 'lover of good food', 'taster'), *λιούντικα* (*Liüntiká* 'little existing one', 'little living one'), *ταρκατζούς* (*Tárkácsu* 'small many-coloured one'), etc. Names which were probably of Turkic origin and their supposed meaning in the contemporary common Turkic language, were such as the following: *τασῆς* (*Tási* 'stone', *ζαλτάς* (*Száltán* 'chieftain'), *'ιέλεχ* (*Jëlëγ* 'prince') *'ιουτοτζάς* (*Jutocsá* 'lover of good food, edacious'), etc.

Post-Conquest Terminology; One-Element Anthroponyms

1. From the eleventh century on, ever increasing written records provide much help in understanding Hungarian name-giving customs. Regarding the increase of onomastic data, it is worth mentioning that we have several hundred pieces of information from the eleventh century, several thousand

from the twelfth, and tens of thousands of personal names from the thirteenth century. These personal names are partly found in some major registers including several hundreds of names, and partly in the enormous quantities of documents written in Latin but very often preserving the names in their original Hungarian forms.

The customs and types of Hungarian name-giving from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries deserve more attention because the forms of name-giving in subsequent times (we might even say in present-day practice) can be readily traced back to the foundations laid down in that period.

The type structurally dominating name-giving during this period was the *one-element* form. This means that contemporary practice applied one name to one person. Owing partly to underdeveloped social and family relations, proprietorial and legal conditions, and partly to the extremely strong ties with which the name was attached to its bearer, the contentual validity of the name-element became null and void with the death of the person. That is, parents did not, as a rule, pass their names to children and the name could not be inherited within the family from generation to generation.

Beginning with the eleventh century when the conversion of the Hungarian people to Christianity started, two main types developed within the one-element form of name-giving. One might be called *secular* name-giving, in which earlier Hungarian customs of name-giving, essentially the names of pagan times, were preserved. The other was the *ecclesiastical* type, which came into existence as a consequence of the adoption of Christian rites, gradually introducing a new form of naming through the practice of baptism. The two types, we might say, lived side by side for centuries in a sort of peaceful co-existence. Although the consolidation of Christianity made it compulsory to give a Christian name to every person, the names received through baptism remained only partly permanent. Many persons more often than not preferred to bear one or another product of the secular form of name-giving. This duality of the time was characterized by an exclusive use of either the secular or the baptismal name, disallowing the coupled use of both. This means that the introduction of Christian names did not essentially alter the custom of Hungarian name-giving and that it left the framework of the one-element structure practically unchanged.

In the initial stages, only a few instances disturb the universal validity of the one-element type. Very exceptionally two name-elements might be attached to a person, but these cases cannot be regarded as precursors of the two-element forms of name-giving that came to prevail generally in subsequent times. Thus, e.g. the first Hungarian king, the state-founder Stephen I, was baptized when he was a youth; in his earlier years his name had been *Vojk* ('little man') the stem of which had a Slavonic etymology and was reduced in meaning by the addition of the Hungarian diminutive suffix *-k*. However, the king omitted this name and chose to bear the new one which he had received through baptism: *István* (< Latin *Stephanus*). Another instance: one of the kings of Hungary in the eleventh century was called *Aba Sámuel* in contemporary sources; here the name *Aba*, which

is pagan, indicates descent from a Hungarian clan, while *Sámuel* is a baptismal name, a surname.

The primitive forms of naming by two elements began to appear in the thirteenth century, without breaking the absolute predominance of the one-element form of name-giving. The origins of this new structural type will be detailed below in the section dealing with the name-giving customs of the following period.

2. As has been stated above, the secular form of name-giving in the period under discussion can be regarded as being essentially a direct and organic continuation of the Hungarian forms of name-giving as they had been practiced in earlier periods. Therefore, they reflect pagan practice, i.e., the name-giving customs of pre-Conquest Hungarians.

The largest and most important group of secular names is formed by those personal names which originate in the common stock of Hungarian words. This very widespread type predominating primarily in the naming customs of the lower social strata was based on the idea that name and person must be in close contact with one another in respect to semantic content. The person received a name which expressed his distinguishing features or circumstances. Some of the names belonging to this group were received at or soon after birth and remained with their bearers until death. Others (which are not very few either) were attached to persons after they had reached adulthood, according to the custom of naming by one language element, when they were likely to abandon their earlier childhood names.

Since the products of the Hungarian secular custom of name-giving by means of one language element point back to a common-word origin, they must have had a semantics of their own. It is impossible to discuss the entire system of these names here; therefore, we must content ourselves with listing some of the most frequent and most important naming (i.e., semantic) categories from the mass of highly varied and manifold appellatives.

One of the most prolific types is represented by the group of names which refer to physical properties. The groups related to bodily constitution may be exemplified by *Nagy* 'big', *Kicsid* 'small', *Gyenge* 'weak', *Erős* 'strong', *Kurta* 'short', *Magas* 'tall', etc. Denoting age are: *Vén* 'old', *Fiatal* 'young', *Hős* 'young', *Legény* 'young man', etc. Referring to colour of hair or complexion: *Fekete* 'black', *Fehéra* 'little white one', *Szőke* 'blond', *Veres* 'red', *Kese* 'light blond', etc. Bodily deficiencies are marked by names such as *Vak* 'blind', *Süket* 'deaf', *Nyomorék* 'cripple', *Csorba* 'toothless', *Csúnya* 'ugly', etc. Opposed to these is the class which express a positive quality; these are the so-called flattering names, applied primarily to females: *Szépa* 'little beauty', *Gyönyörű* 'beautiful', *Szépasszony* 'beautiful woman', etc. It is very probable that most of the names which refer to the parts of the human body also belong to this category. These were used to emphasize some conspicuous feature of the bearer: *Fejdi* 'little head', *Szeme* 'little eyes', *Orrod* 'little nose', *Füle* 'little ears', *Szakál* 'beard', etc.

The next profusely represented category is that of the names of more abstract semantic content, reflecting internal, psychical properties. Some

of these are also flattering nick-names: *Bátor* 'bold', *Drága* 'dear', *Jámbor* 'gentle', *Jód* 'little good', etc. The names in this category, however, are more frequently expressive of some pejorative or deprecatory meaning, which may be also connected, in part at least, with the so-called protective names (to be discussed below): *Álnok* 'false', *Hazugd* 'little liar', *Gonoszd* 'little wicked one', *Hitlen* 'pagan', *Buta* 'stupid', *Hitvány* 'worthless', *Szemét* 'mean', etc.

Some of the names which refer to circumstances or conditions attaching to persons emphasize qualities connected with social status, wealth or rank: *Uradi* 'little lord', *Hatalmas* 'powerful', *Szegény* 'poor', *Szolgád* 'little servant', etc. Others express family ties of direct descent or an in-law relationship: *Apa* 'father', *Fiodi* 'little son', *Őse* 'little ancestor', *Öcse* 'little brother', *Unoka* 'grandchild', *Vődi* 'little son-in-law', *Árvád* 'little orphan', etc. Essentially, a large portion of personal names developed from numerals belong to this group, indicating order of birth or other natal circumstances: *Ketted* 'second', *Negyed* 'fourth', *Ötöd* 'fifth', *Hármas* 'one of triplets', *Hata* 'little six, sixth', etc. Most of the names borrowed from the domain of weekday or calendar names are connected with either the birth or another event in the subsequent life of the person: *Szereda* 'Wednesday', *Péntek* 'Friday', *Szombatka* 'little Saturday' *Karácsony* 'Christmas', *Húsvét* 'Easter', *Pünkösdi* 'little Whitsun', etc. Names of holidays which belong to this group may also be regarded as products of the ecclesiastical practice of name-giving. Names indicating the bearer's descent from another ethnic group or from a foreign country are: *Lengyel* 'Pole', *Horvát* 'Croat', *Cseh* 'Czech', *Német* 'German', *Szerecsen* 'Saracen', *Besenyődi* 'Pecheneg', etc. The number of names in this category shows a gradual increase from century to century.

Old Hungarian names of common-word origin were also borrowed from the spheres of animal and plant names. Personal names of this type predominate in this category. Nevertheless, these two kinds of names only represent a certain degree of uniformity as regards their semantic properties within their respective categories; considering the motives of name-giving, they are, in all likelihood, of rather heterogeneous character. Part of the animal names, for example, may have been of totemistic origin, others might perhaps have had a symbolical role, and still others may have been related to occupations or life events: *Medve* 'bear', *Farkas* 'wolf', *Bika* 'bull', *Galamb* 'dove', *Kakasdi* 'little cock', *Csuka* 'pike', *Süllő* 'pike perch', *Ravasz* 'fox', *Patkány* 'rat', *Varangy* 'toad', *Szamár* 'donkey', etc. Part of the plant names, particularly those of flowers, mostly borne by women, may have been attached to an individual as nick-names: *Virág* 'flower', *Rózsa* 'rose', *Liliom* 'lily', *Viola* 'gilly flower', *Búzádi* 'little wheat', *Kökényd* 'little sloe', *Kölesd* 'little millet', *Som* 'cornel', *Zab* 'oats', *Bab* 'bean', *Gomba* 'mushroom', etc.

An extensive type is represented by names referring to actions; these may be also connected with designations of some more primitive occupations. These names are mainly derived from verbs: *Fogó* 'catcher', *Tartó* 'keeper', *Kérő* 'beggar', *Ütő* 'beater', *Leső* 'peeper', *Nyúzó* 'skinner', etc.; *Aratás* 'harvest', *Szabás* 'cutting', *Futás* 'running', *Fúrás* 'drilling', etc. Names decidedly linked with occupations are the following: *Lovász* 'groom', *Köteles* 'rope-maker', *Szabó* 'tailor', *Sípos* 'piper, musician', etc. For the

most part, personal names transferred from human artifacts (buildings and tools) are indicative of occupational activities: *Malomd* 'little mill', *Sarlód* 'little sickle', *Vedere* 'little bucket, pail', *Pányvádi* 'little tether', *Kötél* 'rope', etc.

An interesting type consists of the so-called protective names that were based on superstitious or pagan beliefs. These were applied to a person so that he might find protection against spirits which were thought to bring diseases: *Nemél* 'does not live', *Nemhisz* 'does not believe', *Nemvagy* 'you are not', *Nemvaló* 'not existing', *Mavagy* 'you are but to-day', *Nevetlen* 'nameless', *Haláldi* 'little death', etc.

As can be seen from the above examples, and even from the collection of names of Constantine VII, the personal names derived from Hungarian common words were very often modified by means of added diminutive-hypocoristic suffixes. The *-d (-di)* suffix especially was very productive: *Feketédi* (<: *fekete* 'black'), *Vadadi* (<: *vad* 'wild'), etc. But other diminutive suffixes were also used: *Szépa* (<: *szép* 'beautiful'), *Uracs* (<: *úr* 'lord'), *Maksa* (<: *makk* 'acorn'), *Szombatka* (<: *szombat* 'Saturday'), etc.

We find a very interesting type of one-element secular name-giving represented by abundant examples in Old Hungarian practice. These names cannot be etymologized, cannot be identified with common words, yet their place in the noun system and their morphological structure leave hardly any doubt that they developed from original Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) elements, representing the most ancient forms of Hungarian name-giving customs. These names are bisyllabic if the stem-final vowel is counted: *Bekü, Csemü, Etü, Kobu, Modu, Topu,* etc.; and monosyllabic if it is not counted: *Bod, Csob, Csom, Pot,* etc. Names of this type often occur, as a matter of course, with various diminutive-hypocoristic suffixes. For which reason quite extensive name-groups developed from some of these in Old Hungarian, e.g. *Becs* :> *Becse, Becske, Becső, Becsed,* etc.; *Csek : Cseke, Csekő, Csekes, Cseked, Cseken,* etc.

It goes without saying that the Hungarian secular practice of name-giving resulted not only in products of genuinely Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) elements but also in names with foreign elements. Since these are abundant we may assume that the various Hungarian ethnic groups had been exposed to foreign linguistic influences from rather early periods of their racial development. The overwhelming majority of these names were adopted from the word-stock, (i.e. names) of the neighbouring peoples with whom the Hungarians had maintained relations. Names of Turkic origin, for example, are the following: *Aba, Ajtony, Ákos, Bő, Tege,* etc.; names of Slavonic origin: *Bogát, Ugrin, Szokol, Kinizs, Szoboszló,* etc.; of German origin: *Lampert, Gerolt, Herman, Detrich, Ludvik,* etc.; neo-Latin (Italian, French), mainly in the thirteenth century: *Olivér, Loránt, Lancerét, Trisztán,* etc. Such names of foreign origin are naturally also found among Hungarian women's names: *Déva, Helga, Gizella, Jolant,* etc. Part of these names, mainly those of the German and neo-Latin origin, soon found their way into the stock of clerical names where they gradually established their position.

The secular type of Hungarian names was numerically preponderant in the Hungarian system of one-element name-giving in the eleventh and

even in the twelfth century. It began to yield to clerical forms of name-giving at around 1100. In the thirteenth century, the clerical form predominated. Nevertheless, the secular types did not die out in subsequent centuries; they have survived, as shown below, in forms of surnames, by-names and family names.

3. From the point of view of linguistic origin, the dominating — we might even say preponderant — type of contemporary ecclesiastical practice of name-giving was represented by Latin names. That was only natural. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Hungarian masses were converted to Roman Catholicism and introduced, at the same time, to the cultural sphere of medieval ecclesiastical Latin. The influence of the Byzantine (Orthodox) Church had been felt to a very slight extent in the preceding period. Consequently, the baptismal names were mainly mediated by Latin, even in cases when these names went back (like the Biblical names of the Old and the New Testaments, or the names of Saints and Martyrs) to other linguistic antecedents in the final analysis (Greek, Hebrew, etc.). The number of baptismal names mediated by ecclesiastical Latin entered the Hungarian language by the score as early as the eleventh century, and grew continually during the following centuries.

Regarding the morphological aspects of ecclesiastical name-giving, first of all the end formations of names adopted through the mediation of Latin are worthy of attention. This primarily holds for names with *-as* and partly also with *-us:* Lat. *Andreas* > Hung. *András*, Lat. *Mathias* > Hung. *Mátyás*, Lat. *Lucas* > Hung. *Lukács*, Lat. *Dominicus* > Hung. *Domonkos*, Lat. *Marcus* > Hung. *Márkus*, etc. Most male names, however, have lost the Latin *-us* or *-ius* endings; Lat. *Martinus* > Hung. *Márton*, Lat. *Mataeus* > Hung. *Máté*, Lat. *Jacobus* > Hung. *Jakab*, Lat. *Sebastianus* > Hung. *Sebestyén*, Lat. *Fabianus* > Hung. *Fábián*; Lat. *Laurentius* > Hung. *Lőrinc*, Lat. *Antonius* > Hung. *Antal*, Lat. *Aegidius* > Hung. *Egyed*, Lat. *Petrus* > Hung. *Péter*, etc. The phenomenon may be connected with paradigmatic changes in the Latin stems as can also be seen in other European languages. In the majority of female names the Latin *-a* ending has survived: Lat. *Anna* > Hung. *Anna*, Lat. *Martha* > Hung. *Márta*, Lat. *Susanna* > Hung. *Zsuzsánna*, Lat. *Cristiana, Cristina* > Hung. *Krisztina*, Lat. *Clara* > Hung. *Klára*, etc. Omission of the ending *-a* was comparatively rare and, as a rule, a much later development: Lat. *Catherina* > Hung. *Katalina* :> *Katalin.*

The coming into existence, and later the general prevalence, of hypocoristic forms was of a still greater consequence for the development of the Hungarian system of name-giving. Full names with diminutive suffixes were only occasionally used as pet names: *János* :> *Jánoska, István* :> *Istváncsa*, etc. What came to prevail generally was the form reduced to the first half of the name. This mutilated stem then underwent a process of secondary word-formation. The shortening usually resulted in a name with the shape CVC or VC. The members of this type did indeed existed, especially in earliest times, by themselves, i.e. without added suffixes, and what is more, they sometimes received an analogical final vowel: *Domonkos* :> *Dom, Domu;*

Demjén :> *Dem, Demü; Jakab* :> *Jak, Jaku; Péter* :> *Pet, Petü,* etc. Although this way of shortening names is known from other languages, the Hungarian forms must have been specifically moulded through the influence of the initial stress of the word and also the analogical effects of joining the final vowel of stem names which were otherwise monosyllabic.

By the addition of various diminutive-hypocoristic suffixes these simple forms of abridged Christian names soon began to be reshaped, thus giving rise to a large group of names: *Péter* :> *Pet* :> *Pete, Pető, Petes, Petke, Petkő, Petüse, Petüd,* etc.; *Benedek* :> *Ben* :> *Bene, Benő, Benes, Bencs, Benke, Benkő, Bencse, Bened,* etc.; *Zsuzsanna* :> *Zsuzs* :> *Zsuzsa, Zsuzsó, Zsuzska, Zsuzskó,* etc.; *Katalin* :> *Kat* :> *Kata, Kató, Katus, Katka,* etc. This system of hypocoristic names did not materially change during the course of centuries. At most some of the suffixes (e.g. *-d*) have died out and others have become widespread (e.g. *-i*).

Two-Element Name-Giving and the Development of Family Names

1. From the thirteenth century on, further processes began to appear in the practice of Hungarian name-giving. These processes pointed toward the development of a new system of giving a name which consisted of two linguistic elements and found powerful support, besides possessional and proprietorial factors to be discussed below, in the circumstance that the scope of giving baptismal names was gradually and increasingly expanding; as a consequence, the name given at the time of baptism remained attached to a larger number of persons, becoming a kind of standing, permanent surname. Nevertheless, this new practice did not replace the earlier customs of secular naming; rather, it gave rise to a new custom, inasmuch as the Christian name, which had become the constant element in a person's full name, was enlarged by means of a secondary, additional, and distinctive name. Thus, the so-called surnames associated with Christian names bore the function of adjectives, which in Finno-Ugrian adjectival constructions precede nouns, thus constituting the anterior member of the double name: *Balog Lőrinc* 'left-handed Lőrinc', *Veres András* 'red András', *Kincses Jakab* 'rich Jakab', etc. (according to contemporary Latin usage in Hungary: *Laurentius dictus Balog, Andreas dictus Veres, Jacobus dictus Kinches,* etc.). It follows from all this that this new type of naming by means of two elements is nothing more than a combination of the two principal types of earlier forms of name-giving: essentially, the one-element forms of secular and ecclesiastical name-giving had merged to bring about a new and peculiar system.

Along with the early forms of two-element naming, there developed a further type of adjectival anterior member (pseudo-surnames) which stood before the standardized baptismal posterior member. Part of these referred to the place of birth or origin, and in cases of noblemen's names, very frequently to the latifundial estate: *Szegedi Péter* 'Péter of Szeged', *Budai Demeter* 'Demeter of Buda', *Kisfaludi Bálint* 'Bálint of Kisfalud', etc.

(according to the contemporary Latin forms *Petrus de Zeged, Demetrius de Buda, Valentinus de Kisfalud*, etc.). Another group was related to the father's Christian name which appeared either in full or in a pet name version: *Fábián István, Luka Pál*, etc. (in contemporary Latin *Stephanus filius Fabiani, Paulus filius Luka*, etc.).

Reorganization of the one-element system of naming into a two-element one, more precisely, the beginning of this process of reorganization, was largely due to the social transformation of the Hungarian population in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: this had been both a promoting factor and (partly) a releasing cause. First of all, it was with respect to persons belonging to the wealthy stratum and estates that distinguishing surnames — i.e. more complicated double names — had to be given to persons, since it was a necessity that people of this class should be individually identified. With the poorer strata, this process began later and proceeded at a slower pace. This is the reason why the more ancient one-element type of name-giving can be frequently encountered, especially in servants' names, as late as the sixteenth century. What is more, a certain degree of differentiation according to sex can also be observed in the development of two-element names which, in the final analysis, goes back to the same social factors. Thus, the inferior social status of women and inheritance along the male line, to mention only two of the causes, must have been responsible for the comparatively tardy appearance of the two-element principle in women's names.

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, in the practice of naming by two elements, the anterior member of the double name, i.e. the surname, remained with the person to whom it was attached, and for the most part was not passed on as a permanent name of subsequent generations; that is, it had not yet assumed the characteristic features of family names.

2. The discriminating function according to which the adjectival surname or pseudo-surname played the role of designating the person more precisely was gradually enriched, i.e., transformed in the course of time. It came to receive importance as a tool of signifying delineation in the family, especially because the development into a particular legal system of proprietorial relations and the right of succession, first of all in the higher social spheres, required stability and continuity in names. The sense of stability and continuity was effectively ensured by the inheritance (i.e., bequeathing by father to son, from generation to generation) of secondary names that used to bear a surname character in earlier times. In respect to the landowning classes the process probably took place in the fifteenth century. Somewhat later, in the sixteenth century, by and large, the same process was repeated in the lower strata, partly owing to the analogical influence of the former, partly as a consequence of certain legal developments in the right of inheritance of the lower strata of society (e.g. in relation to the landed serfs).

In this pattern family names had come to be generally used as more advanced types of the two-element name-giving. As compared to the earlier transitional type of two-element naming described above, this new type

shows a qualitative difference precisely in that the adjectival member had become inheritable. This difference in quality, of course, also implies that the common-word meaning of the actual family name has nothing to do with the individual characteristics of the person who bears the name; the name lost its meaning. Consequently, an individual named *Halász* need not necessarily pursue the occupation of a fisherman (*halász*) and an individual called *Szolnoki* may not necessarily originate from the place named Szolnok, etc.

This system of names consisting of an anterior member used as family name and a posterior member used as a Christian name has survived to this date. Present-day types of Hungarian personal names belong to this system.

Since Hungarian family names have grown out of varied types of earlier Hungarian practices of name-giving, present-day names are also highly varied. Despite their diversity, however, we can safely list the main types. They are: (1) Names of common-word origin, in which the semantic (i.e. functional) categories of secular name-giving and later those of real surnames, were continued; e.g.: (a) attributive and comparative names: *Magas* 'tall', *Barna* 'brown', *Sánta* 'lame', *Vitéz* 'brave', *Gazdag* 'rich', *Ördög* 'devil', *Varjú* 'crow', *Vas* 'iron', etc.; (b) names denoting occupation or social function: *Hegedűs* 'fiddler', *Csordás* 'herdsman', *Tímár* 'tanner', *Varga* 'cobbler', *Fazekas* 'potter', *Deák* 'student, clerk', *Pap* 'clergyman', *Bíró* 'judge', etc., (c) ethnic names: *Magyar* 'Hungarian', *Székely* 'Székely, Székler', *Rác* 'Serbian', *Kun* 'Cumanian', *Oláh* 'Rumanian', etc. (2) Christian names which continue the earlier category of patronymics: (a) complete forms of names: *Filep*, *Gál*, *Ferenc*, *Imre*, *Elek*, *Gáspár*, etc.; (b) abridged Christian names: *Bara*, *Deme*, *Jakó*, *Pósa*, *Benke*, etc.; (c) names with patronymic suffixes: *Péterfi* 'Peter's son', *Lacfi* 'Ladislas' son', *Lőrince* 'Laurence's', *Balázsi* 'Blaise's', etc. (3) Names of topographical origin signifying the geographical origin of the family, formed mostly with the suffix *-i* expressing spatial contiguity: (a) names derived from community names: *Soproni*, *Váradi*, *Cegléd*i, *Kisfaludi*, *Kéri*, etc.; (b) names based on county names or on topographical configurations: *Szalai*, *Baranyai*, *Bihari*, *Erdélyi*, *Felföldi*, etc.

3. Of course, the formula "family name plus Christian name" was primarily developed within the frame of "official" name-giving practice and its final consolidation is due first to ecclesiastical and then to secular registration of births. Nevertheless, in his closer environment and in more familiar contact, the individual used to be invariably addressed by his Christian name (and is so even today). In addressing men — chiefly in the less familiar or official forms of contact — the pattern family name plus *úr* 'lord' has also become customary: *Papp úr*, *Kutasi úr*, etc. In earlier times the form with *úr* was mainly applicable to a man of distinction or of elevated social status; it was only later that the use of *úr* began to be gradually extended.

During the development of two-element naming and the introduction of family names, the name-giving practice was completely identical for men and for women. Girls received their family names from the paternal line,

obtaining the posterior name (Christian name) at the time of baptism: *Török Márta, Sebők Krisztina*, etc. Matrimony involved no material change in this system: it only meant that the woman was addressed by means of a so-called female name that was formed with the suffix *-né* appended to her husband's name (the suffix being derived from the common word *né* ~ *nő* 'woman'): *Szűcs Bálintné, Víg Gergelyné*, etc. This suffix could also simply be added to the husband's family name: *Szűcsné, Vígné*, etc. Nevertheless, the original maiden name of the wife did not disappear altogether with the adoption of the female name, but she maintained her original family name and Christian name in official business: *Balog Sándorné Kis Anna*, or *Balogné Kis Anna*. In spite of the development of female names, it was customary as late as the nineteenth century for married women to be called by their original family names. This way of addressing women can be regarded as specifically Hungarian because in the rest of Europe name-giving practices are different. These forms of female names have prevailed, as a matter of course, in the official practice of naming, whereas in the closer environment or in more intimate surroundings the woman was generally called by her Christian name or by a hypocoristic version thereof. In earlier years it was customary to put the word *asszony* 'woman' after the Christian name: *Anna asszony, Zsuzsanna asszony*, etc., especially in the case of persons of rank or distinction.

Recent Changes

1. Once family names came into practice, no further fundamental changes occurred in the main forms of the Hungarian system of naming. Certain partial shifts of name elements can be traced from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on. These can be followed partly in the channel of family names and partly along the line of Christian names.

2. Regarding the development of family names, two principal instances differing from one another both in origin and in character deserve particular attention.

One is connected with the spread of differentiating adjectives added in various functions to the family name. These adjectives were realized partly as titles of nobility: a name element designating place of origin by the aid of the suffix *-i* preceded the family name, as in *Csengődi Kis István* 'Kis István of Csengőd'. Or a peasant practice gradually came into use: a nickname (partly ironical) which assumed the function of a surname was added to the family name, as in *Torkos Balog János* 'greedy Balog János', *Róka Gazsó László* 'foxy Gazsó László', etc. This system of nicknames strongly prevailed in some parts of the country. The development of both titles of nobility and peasant nicknames can be regarded as a direct continuation, i.e. advance, of the differentiation process that had led to the introduction of the two-element system. However, the spread of these new types in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed to result in an extensive system of three name elements, since the adjectival segments joined to family names were confined to rather restricted limits of occa-

sional usage, never assuming an explicitly official character, and only rarely attaining the significance of being regarded as constituents of what might be essentially called double family names.

Another instance of the developmental course of Hungarian family names is connected with the so-called Magyarization of names and can be referred to the sphere of phenomena labelled "fashionable or vogue names". A prolonged process still in force today had begun in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Its aim was to alter foreign names of families who regarded themselves as belonging to the body of the Hungarian nation. This attempt was considered as one lending a typical Hungarian sound to foreign (mainly German and Slavonic) family names. This movement of Magyarizing the family names may be related in more than one respect to the Language Reform Movement, also a product of the period specified above, this connection being natural considering the common roots of the two phenomena. This movement was characterized more by an onomatopoetic approach of the prevailing fashion than by linguistic considerations. From the viewpoint of correct usage and the rules which governed the historical development of genuine Hungarian family names, it contains a curious medley of acceptable, indifferent, and inferior products. It is worst when it is stereotyped: certain unfortunate types of names became fashionable and were abused. Thus, e.g., the names with an *-i* suffix occupied an enormous field in the domain of Magyarization of names. However, they did not follow the traditional pattern of settlement name plus *-i*, but followed other, semantically less realistic patterns: *Rajnai* (after the foreign river *Rajna* 'Rhine'), *Jégvölgyi* (after the non-existing place name 'ice valley'), *Pálmai* (from the plant name *pálma* 'palm'), *Fellegi* (from the common noun *felleg* 'cloud'), etc. Certain names with suffixes *-s* and *-ó*, *-ő* have become fashionable though they are not always transparent semantically: *Havas* 'snowy', *Halmos* 'hummocky', *Darvas* 'having cranes', *Radó* (?), *Rejtő* 'hider', *Szegő* 'hemmer', etc. Admittedly, the stock of Hungarian family names has been increased by a great number of new specimens which gradually found a firm position in the language, but at the same time the admission of these names has rendered the Hungarian realm of family names, which was formerly differentiated and rich in variants, rather monotonous and dull.

3. Parallel with the development of the colourful phonology of the anterior members of two-element family names, the posterior member of Christian origin also has linguistic, chronological and geographical characteristics of its own.

In this respect the phenomenon of fashionable names deserves particular attention. The use of Hungarian Christian names has been subject to considerable changes in frequency of occurrence during the last few centuries. Men's most fashionable Christian names, for example, may be ranked in order of frequency in the sixteenth century as follows: *János, István, Péter, Mihály, György, Gergely, Pál, András, Benedek, Balázs*. The statistics for the mid-twentieth century are the following: *László, István, József, János, Ferenc, Sándor, György, Zoltán, Gábor, Péter*. More than half of the names

in the first list have been replaced. The ten most popular women's names in the sixteenth century were: *Anna, Katalin, Margit, Erzsébet, Borbála, Orsolya, Magdolna, Krisztina, Dorottya, Klára.* Correspondingly in the middle of the twentieth century: *Mária, Éva, Zsuzsanna, Katalin, Erzsébet, Ilona, Judit, Anna, Ágnes, Edit.* Here the shift is still more pronounced.

If our selection is based not only on the most fashionable names but on a wider range of Christian names, the change is even more conspicuous because mobility was much greater in the sphere of the less frequent names. Certain Christian names that enjoyed a fairly wide currency a few centuries ago have almost fully disappeared from present-day Hungarian name-giving. Such men's names, for instance, are: *Ambrus, Barabás, Benedek, Boldizsár, Dániel, Demeter, Fábián, Gáspár, Illés, Jakab, Kelemen, Lőrinc, Lukács, Menyhért, Sámuel, Sebestyén.* Women's names which are now rare are: *Borbála, Dorottya, Fruzsina, Karolina, Krisztina, Orsolya, Rákhel, Rebeka, Skolasztika,* etc. Nevertheless, the men's names listed here as being completely or almost completely void of their former function as Christian names are abundantly represented in the actual stock of Hungarian family names. This naturally follows from what was said above in connection with the developmental conditions of old Hungarian family names, i.e., about the role played by Christian name types in the process, and thus requires no further explanation.

In spite of the fact that several old Hungarian Christian names have died out almost completely, the existing stock of Hungarian Christian names is more varied and differentiated than ever. This statement is fairly well supported by the fact that from among the names heading the sixteenth century list, *János* has a frequency of 10 per cent, *Anna* of 15 per cent, *László* and *Mária* occupy 5 per cent each among the names in vogue during the middle of the twentieth century. Besides the ever-growing influence of foreign naming customs, a particular category of Christian names considered genuinely Hungarian and fully absent in other languages has largely contributed to the recent stock of Christian names. Most men's names in this group were revived by nineteenth century romanticism from forms which were thought to be "ancient" Hungarian (partly in the wrong form, due to faulty reading). These names acquired a very important role in the twentieth century: *Attila, Csaba, Árpád, Géza, Zoltán, Béla, Zsolt, Gyula, Jenő, Ákos, Szabolcs,* etc. The majority of women's names which belong to this class are also products of nineteenth century romanticism, most of them being neither hypothetical nor real revivals but rather products of literary fantasy: *Etelka, Csilla, Tünde, Gyöngyi,* etc.

Naturally, the custom of forming pet names from current Christian names did not cease to exist during subsequent centuries. Within the more intimate family circle or among friends, pet names are used even today in numerous variations: *Pista* 'István', *Bandi* 'András', *Jancsi* 'János', *Sanyi* 'Sándor'; *Marika* 'Mária', *Erzsike* 'Erzsébet', *Jutka* 'Judit', *Ági* 'Ágnes', etc.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Earliest Naming Customs

1. The data at our disposal for presenting naming customs in the field of geography for the pre-Conquest period of the Hungarian language are no better than our data for personal names of that period. Here again the greatest impeding factor is the absence of written records (leaving aside a few items on the decades before the Conquest). Neither can we rely on the admittedly durable and time-resisting nature of certain types of geographical names; they are not of much help to us when it comes to an exposition of concrete knowledge of the period because of the particular history of the Hungarians. Obviously, no names of Hungarian origin, i.e., names used by Hungarian ethnic groups, can be expected to occur in the ninth and tenth centuries in present-day Hungarian-speaking areas, since the Hungarians did not live there during the pre-Conquest period. Areas in which the Hungarians had lived before the Conquest do not seem to contain any recognizable Hungarian names. This is due to several reasons: these areas are difficult to delimit in the first place; whatever names may have been found there during the Hungarians' stay have disappeared simply because of the passage of time; other ethnic groups which subsequently occupied these areas gave them their own names.

Difficulties in investigating the pre-Conquest period are not only due to the absence of Hungarian geographical names but also to a particular circumstance which impedes us from finding inferences of a more general nature. As a result of the nomadic-pastoral mode of life, the conditions which governed settlement and ecological adjustment to the environment were quite different in the pre-Conquest centuries from those of subsequent times when the Hungarians settled down permanently. Thus not even the earliest records of Hungarian geographical nomenclature of the present-day country can supply a really safe basis for drawing logical conclusions on earlier name-giving customs practiced under materially different social conditions.

One fairly exact general inference can be made, however. The custom of naming a place by applying to it a naked personal name (i.e., a name without any suffix or other formant), as was widely and characteristically practiced by the Hungarians of the post-Conquest centuries, definitely goes back to nomadic name-giving systems. It is based on a complete identification of a place and its owner. Consequently, the custom of naming by the mere personal name must have not only existed but also played a considerable part in the geographical terminology of the Hungarians during their pastoral-nomadic period (i.e., fifth to ninth centuries, A.D.).

2. In spite of the difficulties detailed above, a few geographical names of Hungarian origin can be concretely demonstrated, or at least safely suspected, for pre-Conquest times.

Our greatest support in this respect can again be found in the source work by Constantine VII from the middle of the tenth century. Speaking

of two earlier seats of Hungarian pastoral nomads, the Emperor mentions two such geographical names which should be considered unquestionably Hungarian. One of these names relates to the ninth or possibly the eighth century and is *Λεβεδία*, an early Hungarian place of settlement. The name may have been pronounced *Lëvëdi* by the Hungarians, the suffix being supposedly a Grecism. It corresponds to the name of a Hungarian chieftain of the pre-Conquest years, *Λεβεδίας*, who is also mentioned by Constantine VII, also with a Greek suffix. The personal name is a derivative of the Hungarian verb for denoting being, and the geographical term formed belongs to a characteristic type of Hungarian terminology abundantly represented in the post-Conquest centuries. This geographical term has died out entirely and cannot even be identified by area, although it is hardly disputable that it refers to some of the regions north of the Black Sea. The other name, which denoted a later seat of the Hungarians, probably in the years immediately preceding the Great Conquest, is *'ατελκούζου*, pronounced *Etëlküzü*. Its anterior constituent represents one of the big rivers (any of those from the Prut to the Don) of the south Russian (Ukrainian) plains, the posterior constituent is the Hungarian common word *köz* 'space between two points'. The compound word apparently refers to an area flanked by one of the mentioned rivers; it belongs to a characteristically Hungarian type of terminology widely used to designate interfluvial areas in subsequent times (*Rábaköz*, *Csallóköz*, *Bodrogköz*, etc.). This name has also disappeared and is no longer traceable. Therefore we cannot locate it exactly.

In addition to these scanty traces of Hungarian geographical terms which can be well supported by historical evidence we can assign only a few more names to the pre-Conquest period with more or less certainty. On the basis of the denomination *Dentümogyer* 'Magyars of the Den' by the twelfth century Hungarian chronicler Anonymus we may surmise that the name of the river Don was pronounced *Den* by the Hungarians, who had adopted the Turkic form *Den*. Recently several such names with geographical meanings have been uncovered by investigations in Bashkiria, along the course of the river Belaya. These names may be identified with more or less certainty with some of the tribal names recorded by Constantine VII (*Gyarmat*, *Jenő*, *Keszi*, etc.). Accordingly, these should be regarded as the earliest known traces of Hungarian geographical terms. And perhaps we are not far wrong when we suppose that the place names *Mozsar* and *Mescser* in the Central Plains of Russia are, in the final analysis, also survivals of the ethnic names of Hungarians (cf. the early alternating pair *magyar* ~ *megyer* of the ethnic name).

These more or less justified traces can be applied to individual names only. They fail to give us any insight into the broader implications, let alone the complete system of ancient Hungarian geographical terminology. As regards the era following the Conquest, however, we can speak of a fundamentally changed situation. We may do so partly through the knowledge of the names that have survived in Hungarian oral tradition and partly on the basis of the materials supplied by an ever-increasing number of linguistic written records. In the following chapter we shall demonstrate some of the more important types of Hungarian geographical terminology.

Names of Foreign Origin

1. Those parts of the Carpathian Basin which were populated by the Hungarians of the Great Conquest at the end of the ninth century and which became densely inhabited during subsequent centuries, and are for the most part settled by them even today, had been frequented for many thousands of years by numberless peoples before the Hungarians moved here. Of the peoples that used to inhabit this territory (so apt for human cultivation), in a sometimes rather quick succession, we may mention the Indo-European Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, the Iranian Yazigs, the Germanic Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the Gepids, Quads and Longobards, further, groups belonging to the Turkic language family, the Huns, Avars, Bulgar-Turks, etc. These peoples, however, used this country as a temporary place of residence as a rule, and very few of them survived until the Hungarian Conquest, and even those were present mostly as fragments of their ethnic groups. The western part of what was later to become the Hungarian language area, i.e. Transdanubia, was a Roman province governed under the name Pannonia for about a century. The eastern part of this language area was also for a while a Roman possession called Dacia but the vestiges of Roman colonization were destroyed during the centuries of the great migrations so that the Hungarians of the Conquest period could find no traces of them whatever. In turn, Slavonic groups had increased strongly in number during the few decades before the Conquest and the Hungarians who settled there found — besides certain fragmentary groups of earlier inhabitants — mainly Slavonic populations. These Slavs lived, in the first place, in the western parts of the Carpathian Basin, and belonged partly to the southern (Slovenian) and partly to the western (Slovak) language areas of the Slavs. Slavonic ethnic groups must have lived much more sporadically in the eastern regions.

The resilient tendency for survival of names of major geographical units is well known. We may therefore take it for granted that a very large number of geographical names survived, preserving their continuity from earlier times and languages to the period of the Great Conquest. It is also probable that the overwhelming majority of these names had been mediated by the Slavs to the Hungarians.

2. In all likelihood, the most ancient layers of geographical names adopted from foreign languages comprise the names of the large rivers of Hungary. We can say very little about the linguistic origin of such river names as *Duna*, *Tisza*, *Dráva*, *Rába*, *Zala*, *Ipoly*, *Maros*, *Szamos*, *Körös*, *Temes*, *Olt*, etc. On the basis of various criteria, a descent from one or another Indo-European language can be surmised in respect to some of them (partly Thracian-Illyrian, party Celtic origin). Their age is well supported by the fact that most of the names of these big rivers are mentioned by ancient historiographers (Pliny, Herodotus, Jordanes). The names of some of the rivers in the Carpathian Basin may possibly be of Quad origin (*Vág*, *Nyitra*, *Garam*), but these must have been mediated by the Slavs to the Hungarians. The names of several middle-sized rivers are of Slavonic

origin: *Kraszna*, *Beszterce*, *Tapolca*, *Zagyva*, *Galga*, *Tarna*, etc.: these were adopted immediately after the Conquest. At the same time the name of the largest still-lake in Hungary, that of Lake *Balaton*, was borrowed from the Slavs (Slav. *blato* 'swamp'). The river name Küküllő points towards a pre-Conquest Turkic origin, while the river name *Lajta* is German.

The terminology of the big Hungarian mountains contains somewhat fewer names of pre-Conquest and foreign origin. Of apparently pre-Conquest origin are *Mecsek*, *Bakony*, *Vértes*, *Mátra*, *Hargita*, etc., all being unknown etymologies. The origin of the mountain name *Pilis* is Slavonic.

3. The names of foreign origin are represented in great abundance among Hungarian community names. A considerable part of these had been taken over from peoples the Hungarians found here at the time of the Conquest.

The interruption of the Romanizing process, i.e. interruption of the Pannonian colonization, is reflected by the fact that names of the late provinces as a rule found no continuers in the Hungarian language. Thus the names of such important towns as *Scarabantia* (Sopron), *Arrabona* (Győr), *Savaria* (Szombathely), *Brigetio* (Szőny), *Aquincum* (Óbuda), *Gorsium* (Tác), *Sopianae* (Pécs), *Napoca* (Kolozsvár), etc. have vanished without trace. A certain exception is indicated by the extant name *Keszthely* which may be regarded as a Hungarian descendant of the place name *Castellum*, but even this can be considered a product of Slavonic terminology, having been mediated by the Slavs to the Hungarians.

It cannot be decided with precision whether the majority of place names of foreign origin are loanwords borrowed from peoples that lived in Hungary during the pre-Conquest period or whether they are post-Conquest developments: *Gödöllő*, *Vác*, *Gyömrő*, *Monor*, *Vecsés*, *Kecskemét*, *Debrecen*, *Gyoma*, *Paks*, etc. In certain cases, however, a pre-Conquest origin can well be supposed: *Pécs*, *Tolna*, *Kolozs*, *Brassó*, etc.

Most Hungarian place names of foreign origin are Slavonic loanwords of the Conquest period: *Kanizsa*, *Esztergom*, *Komárom*, *Veszprém*, *Csorna*, *Dorog*, *Baranya*, *Dombó*, *Ilosva*, *Torna*, *Pásztó*, *Torockó*, etc. This category comprises several place names which contain the word *grad* as second member (< Slav. *gradъ* 'castle'): *Visegrád*, *Nógrád*, *Légrád*, *Csongrád*, etc. Since the units of the old Hungarian territorial administrative system, the so-called counties, were usually named after the mountains or castles situated in their centres, a good number of Hungarian county names are of Slavonic origin: *Komárom*, *Esztergom*, *Veszprém*, *Nógrád*, *Baranya*, *Doboka*, *Torna*, etc.

In Western Hungary, there survived a few pre-Conquest place names of German origin. One of the most remarkable is *Moson*, which also developed into a county name.

4. In post-Conquest times, geographical names of foreign origin must also be reckoned with in Hungarian-speaking areas. Such names entered Hungarian geographical repertory through the immigration of foreign ethnic groups into Hungarian-speaking parts. Since such settlements have taken

place repeatedly and in the most diverse regions of the country ever since the Conquest period, geographical names of foreign origin have continuously infiltrated into Hungarian, although the process as a whole has never assumed large proportions.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of these names had nothing to do with large geographical units (large rivers, hills, etc.), or that they did not find their way into the topographical nomenclature of communities, needs no particular explanation. Rather these names have become part of the geographical micro-nomenclature, having been introduced into the group of names which were used to signify distinct parts in the vicinity of a major geographical unit. Such names are for the most part of German, Slavonic and Rumanian origin and cannot, as a rule, be traced backward because they are usually short-lived ones.

Names of Hungarian Origin

1. In spite of many loanwords, the vast majority of Hungarian geographical names, whether only attested or still extant, are genuinely Hungarian. The bulk of the repertory of Hungarian geographical terminology goes back — as has been shown in the case of personal names — to Hungarian common-word antecedents. A variety of types of names can therefore be set up from the viewpoint of semantics, i.e., the motives of name-giving. We shall discuss some of the most prominent types at this point.

Part of the Hungarian geographical terminology had come into existence as early as the Conquest period, i.e. about the time the Hungarian people settled in their present-day country, because the people settling in a given part refused to accept a foreign term for one reason or another and created a name of their own for the geographical phenomenon in question. Several hundreds of such early names exist even today, particularly those referring to major geographical units. For example, several of the geographical names known from the earliest linguistic records are also known to be extant in present-day terminology: *Sarlós*, *Szántó*, prior to 1002; *Fok*, *Fehérvár*, *Somogy*, from 1055; etc. Naturally, geographical names of Hungarian origin have continued to come into existence in enormous numbers ever since the Conquest times; this is the reason why current names go back to very diverse points of time in their origin.

2. Names of medium-size rivers in the Hungarian language area are internal developments which belong to the most ancient layers of Hungarian geographical terminology. The predominating type in this category is undoubtedly constituted by plant names, mostly formed by the suffixes *-d* (*-gy*) or *-s*: *Nyárád* (<: *nyár* 'poplar'), *Egregy* (<: *éger* 'alder'), *Almás* (<: *alma* 'apple'), *Gyöngyös* (<: *gyöngy* 'mistletoe'), etc. Hydrographical terms have often been formed from names of animals living in water: *Rákos* (<: *rák* 'crayfish'), *Békás* (<: *béka* 'frog'), *Hodos* (<: *hód* 'beaver'), etc. A similarly high number of names refer to some property of the water: *Sebes* 'quick', *Sió* 'roaring', *Sár* 'yellow' or 'swamp', *Bodrog* 'wavy', *Aranyos*

'golden', etc. Several hydrographical names have preserved the words *jó* or *ügy* which are no more extant with their meaning 'water': *Sajó* 'salt-water', *Berettyó* 'grove-water', *Héjő* 'warm water', *Feketeügy* 'black water', etc. The largest Hungarian lake next to Balaton is called *Fertő*, a name of Hungarian origin developed from a common word meaning 'boggy water, swamp'.

Some of the higher mountains of the Carpathian Basin bear Hungarian names which are usually very old. Most of them received their names from the vegetal cover found on them: *Bükk* 'beech', *Csóványos* 'nettly', *Cserhát* 'ridge where Turkey oaks grow', *Somló* 'overgrown with cornel', *Avas* 'old forest', etc. Of course, other types freely occur with connotations concerning the colour, rock pediment or shape of the hill: *Kékes* 'blue', *Meszes* 'chalky', *Tarkő* 'bare stone', etc.

Names of major geographical units or morphological landscapes have almost exclusively developed from internal sources, and we find a rather high number of genuine Hungarian names among them. One of the oldest is *Erdély*, an obsolete compound word that originally meant an 'area beyond the forest'. The names of several Hungarian large geographical landscapes have been formed by adding *föld* 'land' to a word, e.g. *Alföld* 'lowland, plain', denote the plain regions of the country, *Felföld* 'highland' to designate the hilly or mountainous regions. The term *Székelyföld* is applied to the eastern parts inhabited by the Székely ethnic group. One of the characteristic types of Hungarian names for landscape units is formed by means of the collective noun suffix *-ság, -ség;* some of these are derived from the ethnic group inhabiting the region: *Kunság* (from the Cumanians), *Jászság* (from the group termed Yas), *Hajdúság* (from the Haiduk), etc. In some other types the root is related to the character of the landscape: *Nyírség* (<: *nyír* 'fen'), *Hanság* (<: *hany* 'swamp'), *Mezőség* (<: *mező* 'meadow'), etc. The name *Őrség* is connected with the military function of the inhabitants of the region (<: *őr* 'garrison').

Although the names derived from castles in the early system of counties are often of foreign (mainly Slavonic) origin, county names of Hungarian etymologies are also amply represented: *Somogy* 'where the cornel grows', *Szilágy* 'where elms grow', *Békés* 'peaceful', *Heves* 'warm, sunshiny', *Sáros* 'muddy' or 'swampy', etc.

3. A very large category divided into many types is formed by community names of Hungarian origin which, as a matter of course, predominate over community names of foreign origin, however high their number may seem taken in themselves. A very high proportion of the many thousand Hungarian community names, which for the most part continue to exist even today, had developed prior to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although names of tenth or eleventh century origin also abound. Some of the Hungarian community name types have an intrinsic value for historical dating which is fairly well demonstrated by the linguistic-historical evidence which they supply.

Before introducing the most common types of the highly varied terminology of Hungarian community names, we think it expedient to emphasize

two old Hungarian suffixes of particular chronological value. One of these, the *-i* suffix, which expresses adherence to, or the quality of being possessed by someone, was generally applied to names before the twelfth century: *Tamási* 'of Thomas', *Püspöki* 'of the bishop's', *Kovácsi* 'of the smith's', etc. The other suffix, *-d*, originally had a diminutive function which gradually assumed the role of a general toponomastic suffix, and was mainly productive before the fourteenth century: *Szeged* (<: *szeg* 'bordered area'), *Cegléd* (<: *cigle* 'willow'), *Aszód* (<: *aszó* 'ravine glen'), etc.

One of the most widespread types of Hungarian community names has developed from common words denoting physical objects and natural phenomena. Numerically predominating in this type are community names derived from plant names or from botanical terms relating to the surface flora. This class may exist both without any formative element and with the suffixes *-i*, *-d*, *-gy*, *-s* and *-sd*: *Kőrös* (<: *kőrisfa* 'ash tree'), *Eger* (<: *égerfa* 'alder tree'); — *Cseri* (<: *cser* 'Turkey oak'), *Erdőd* (<: *erdő* 'forest'), *Szederjes* (<: *szeder* 'blackberry'), *Nádasd* (<: *nád* 'reed'), etc. Most of the community names derived from plant names are secondary developments since they were originally applied to designate waters. Later they were transferred to the settlements first established near the waters. Therefore, the names of this class are usually very old. A considerable number of community names have developed from animal names. A possible transfer from the more original water name is not infrequent in this class, either: *Ludas* (<: *lúd* 'goose'), *Halas* (<: *hal* 'fish'), *Ölyved* (<: *ölyv* 'hawk'), etc. Evidently, other semantic ranges are also represented in the class of community names derived from names of physical objects: *Palota* 'palace', *Szurdok* 'glen', *Pest* 'oven', *Udvari* (<: *udvar* 'yard'), *Tornyos* (<: *torony* 'tower'), *Kövesd* (<: *kő* 'stone'), *Sárd* (<: *sár* 'mud'), etc.

A characteristic type is represented by community names formed with the common word *vár* 'castle'; these names which are linguistic remains of the ancient system of fortifications in Hungary are rather numerous in every part of the country. The common word *vár* is mostly attached as a posterior member of the compound to the anterior member which has an attributive function: *Szigetvár* 'isle castle', *Vörösvár* 'red castle', *Fehérvár* 'white castle', *Földvár* 'earthen castle', etc. However, *vár* can stand by itself, enlarged by means of a place-name suffix: *Vári*, *Várad*, *Várda*, etc. Similarly, historical remains preserved in geographical terminology are those community names which refer to old Hungarian market places. Part of these have been formed with the words *vásár* 'market', or *vásárhely* 'marketplace' as posterior members: *Martonvásár*, *Pétervására*; *Somlóvásárhely*, *Marosvásárhely*, *Kézdivásárhely*, etc. Another subcategory is that of place names which derive from the name of the day on which the market was held: *Csíkszereda*, *Szerdahely* (<: *szerda* 'Wednesday'); *Nagyszombat*, *Szombathely* (<: *szombat* 'Saturday'); etc.

A typically Hungarian kind of community name is found in those place names which were derived from ancient Hungarian tribal names. We have only one written record on the names of Hungarian tribes during the Conquest, that is the historical work of Constantine VII from the mid-tenth century. Leaving aside the possibly much earlier traces of Hungarian geo-

graphical terminology recently discovered in Bashkiria referred to above, there exist more than two hundred place names in the Hungarian-speaking areas, all of which preserve indices of these tribal names: *Nyék*, *Megyer*, *Kürt*, *Gyarmat*, *Tarján*, *Jenő*, *Kér* and *Keszi*. The communities concerned received their names from the portions of the tribes that had swarmed out from their original place of settlement, owing to the centrally controlled population policy of the state power. Although these populations settled down in the areas of other tribes (in the tenth and eleventh centuries as a rule), they can offer a reliable basis for establishing the settlement areas of Hungarian tribes of the Conquest period simply because of their great number. For that purpose a particular preclusive method of territorial delimitation has to be made use of (namely, where there are no traces of the name of a given tribe that was the primary settlement area of the tribe). Related to the names of this class are, from more than one point of view, those Hungarian community names which seem to be suggestive of vestiges of such ethnic groups, population fragments, tribal or clan organizations as had joined the body of the Hungarian people in the course of time: *Varsány*, *Tárkány*, *Berény*, *Ladány*, etc. This large group of names is paralleled by another equally abundant group of community names marked by the word *Székely*, denoting the places of early residence or temporary settlements of one of the characteristic ethnic groups of the Hungarian nation.

A great number of Hungarian community names are derived from ethnic names standing either by themselves or complemented with a place name suffix: *Horvát* 'Croat', *Böszörmény* 'Ismailite', *Besenyő* ~ *Besnyő* 'Pecheneg'; *Olaszi* (<: *olasz* 'neo-Latin, Italian or French'), *Németi* ~ *Nempti* (<: *német* 'German'), *Csehi* (<: *cseh* 'Czech'), *Oroszi* (<: *orosz* 'Russian'), etc. These place names should be regarded for the most part as linguistic memories of foreign-speaking ethnic groups that had migrated to Hungarian settlement areas.

An interesting and fairly widespread type is represented by communities named after the patron saint of the parish or the village church. This form of naming emerged as a consequence of western cultural influences and issued mainly from neo-Latin language areas in Hungary. Community names of this class were formed almost exclusively in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the Hungarian language area there are over five hundred community names of this type, including some fifty different names of the martyr saints. Most often they contain the word *Szent-* as anterior constituent: *Szentandrás*, *Szenterzsébet*, *Szentgyörgy*, *Szentmárton*, *Szentmiklós*, *Szentpéter*; *Szentháromság* 'the Holy Trinity', *Szentkereszt* 'the Holy Cross', *Szentkirály* 'the Holy King', *Szentlélek* 'the Holy Ghost'. There are also other names of different structures, e.g. *Keresztúr* 'Lord of the Cross, Christ', *Boldogasszony* 'Blessed Virgin, Mary', *Mindszent* 'All Saints', etc.

Community names developed from names of occupations represent a transition to those formed from personal names; part of them might perhaps become community names from personal names indirectly. By any means, the majority of these communities were named after people who once lived there and pursued the same profession: *Csősz* 'field guard', *Szekeres* 'carman', *Gerencsér* 'potter', *Poroszló* 'bailiff'. Numerous words which

contain the suffix *-i* are included in this group: *Halászi* (<: *halász* 'fisherman'), *Kovácsi* (<: *kovács* 'smith'), *Ácsi* (<: *ács* 'carpenter'), etc. Several names of this kind denote the office or occupation of the former owner: *Királyi* 'king's', *Püspöki* 'bishop's', *Apáti* 'abbot's', etc.

The largest group of old Hungarian community names was undoubtedly produced by the direct application of a person's name. The person's name in such denominations usually bears the memory of the founder or the first owner of the place.

The most characteristic type of names in this group applies the personal name in its mere form to the place, i.e. no suffix or posterior member is resorted to. This form of name-giving is a typically Hungarian one, being either completely absent or very rare in other languages. Community names of this description are, as a rule, very old in Hungarian. Most of them developed prior to the twelfth century. They also occur in the Hungarian language area by the hundreds: *Bátor, Keve, Koppány, Szabolcs, Makó, Kaba, Tarcsa, Szentes, Lázár, Ábrám, Benke*, etc. It is interesting enough that several personal names mentioned by Constantine VII have been also preserved in this class of names: *Tas, Üllő, Jutas, Tevel, Tormás*. Essentially, most of the community names formed from personal names by means of the *-d* suffix belong in this group, since the suffix functions as a formative of a personal name (and not a place name): *Acsád, Bonyhád, Csanád, DeméND, Endrőd*, etc. Another early type of community names is represented by those formed from personal names by addition of the suffix *-i;* the suffix in this case is expressive of the fact of belonging to, i.e. being the personal property of, the named person: *Györki, Petri, Pályi, Tamási, Lőrinci*, etc.

In the most widespread type of community names developed from personal names, the personal name functions as the anterior member of the possessive-attributive compound. As a matter of fact, we see here the two principal types of Hungarian name-giving combined: the anterior member of the compound is a personal name and the posterior member is a common noun. The latter was used with reference to the diverse types and characteristic features of the settlement, it was in most cases complemented with a possessive personal suffix, and remained attached to the personal name. The most frequent posterior member is *-falva* 'his village'; several others are also frequent: *-háza* 'his house', *-laka* 'his home', *-telke* 'his plot', *-földe* 'his land', *-szállása* 'his residence', *-ülése* 'his seat, settlement', *-réve* 'his ferry', *-hida* 'his bridge', *-soka* 'his lot, people', etc.: *Karácsonfalva, Lukafalva, Fintaháza, Tordalaka, Mihálytelke, Apahida*, etc. A characteristic type within this class is the group of community names with *-fa* and *-fája* as posterior members; these elements must have been connected with the common noun *falu* 'village': *Farkasfa, Andrásfa, Budafa; Csomafája, Gergelyfája;* etc. The origins of all these compounds of personal name plus a common word denoting a settlement may be traced to the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries when they were mainly in vogue.

4. By far the largest group of geographical names of Hungarian origin is represented by the most characteristic elements of the geographical micronomenclature, which are the so-called field names (names of smaller portions

of land in the vicinity of a community). They number several thousand in the Hungarian-speaking areas, but this number is still higher if viewed historically since names of this class are subject to rapid changes: they come into existence and soon fade away, that is to say, they are quickly replaced.

These elements of Hungarian geographical nomenclature, the function of which is restricted to designate a comparatively small partial area, i.e., a certain portion of land in the vicinity of the community, are known to abound from the earliest periods of written records in Hungary. For example, the Foundation Charter of Tihany (1055) contains a great number of such names. We find one-element names among them, which read in modern spelling: *Szakadát* 'rockslide', *Ség* 'hill', *Bálvány* 'idol', etc. Nevertheless, most of them are compound words of two elements: *Árokfő* 'mouth of the glen', *Köveskút* 'rocky well', *Mogyorókerék* 'hazelnut woods', *Leánysír* 'girl's tomb', *Háromhegy* 'three hills', *Feketehomok* 'black sand', *Lovászhalma* 'groom's hill', etc.

The full system, or even the most characteristic types, of field names cannot be introduced here precisely because of the extremely complex and far-reaching problems involved by them. We must therefore content ourselves with characterizing only the main types.

The basic constituents of field names are mostly supplied by Hungarian common words with more or less geographical connotations. A considerable portion of these refer to some morphological quality of the landscape surface: *aszó* 'ravine valley', *hágó* 'hill slope, ramp', *lapos* 'plateau', *pad* 'elevated stretch of land', *szurdok* 'glen', etc. Very often the names are transferred from parts of the human body: *fő* 'peak', *hát* 'hilltop', *orr* 'protruding part of a hill', *száj* 'mouth of a valley', *torok* 'narrowing valley', etc.; from hydrographical common words: *árok* 'ditch', *csorgó* 'fountain', *ér* 'brook', *láp* 'fen', *szék* 'swamp', etc.; from names connected with flora: *berek* 'marsh with groves', *ortovány* 'clearing', *rét* 'meadow', *sűrű* 'thickety land', *szálas* 'forest of tall trees', *tövis* 'thorny place', etc.; from names referring to occupations: *dűlő* 'plough-land', *legelő* 'pasture', *parlag* 'fallow', etc. Miscellaneous: *tag* 'extensive portion of plough-land', *malom* 'mill', *híd* 'bridge', *major* 'manor', *tanya* 'farmstead', etc.

The common words of geographical nomenclature used as field names may stand as proper names by themselves, especially the less frequent ones, i.e. those occurring but once in the confines of the village: *Szurdok*, *Szék*, *Ortovány*, *Tövis*, *Malom*, etc. Nevertheless, they figure mostly as constituents of compound proper names, usually as posterior members. The anterior members of compound field names are generally adjectival attributes or possessive attributes. The former mainly refer to the character, size, form, colour, temperature or composition of the geographical place: *Nagyerdő* 'big forest', *Hosszúvölgy* 'long valley', *Tekerespatak* 'winding brook', *Kékdomb* 'blue hill', *Melegmál* 'warm, sunshiny hillside', *Kövespart* 'rocky bank', etc. The category of possessive attributes mainly includes personal or occupational names: *Bodakertje* 'Boda's garden', *Mikótisztása* 'Mikó's clearing', *Elekrétje* 'Elek's meadow', *Tanítókúttya* 'teacher's well', *Papföldje* 'parson's field', etc. The majority of mere personal names occurring in field names are secondary formations derived from former

possessive-attributive compounds: *Gáborjándűlője* ~ *Gáborjándűlő* 'Gáborján's plough-land': > *Gáborján*.

The so-called internal names (i.e. names of interior parts of settlement areas) also belong to the elementary stock of the geographical nomenclature. This class comprising the names of streets, squares, districts, etc., has undergone a large-scale transformation in recent times, owing to the coming into the foreground of the arbitrary practice of name-giving. Nevertheless, part of the older names have survived to this date.

The most typical category of early internal names is represented by those given to the principal and most noticeable parts of the community, village or city. In Hungarian villages, for instance, that half of the inhabited area which is elevated or is situated towards the upper water course is called, as a rule, *Felszeg*, *Felszer*, *Felvég* 'upper part', while the other half, lying towards the lower reaches of the river, usually bears a name like *Alszeg*, *Alszer*, *Alvég* 'lower part'. It is an interesting and a rather frequent occurrence that certain portions of a Hungarian community receive names borrowed from foreign countries or cities: *Burgundia*, *Galicia*, *Prága*, *Boroszló*, *Dancka*, etc.

Old Hungarian names of squares and streets represent the most varied types of attributive or possessive constructions: *Főtér* 'main square', *Búzapiac* 'wheat market', *Magyar utca* 'Magyar street', *Tímár utca* 'Tanners' street', *Görbe utca* 'curved street', *Pacsirta utca* 'skylark street', *Iskola utca* 'school street', etc. A most common type of street names is represented by the names of the neighbouring localities given to the streets that lead to these localities: the names are invariably complemented with the suffix *-i*: *Kecskeméti utca*, *Váci utca*, *Tököli út*, *Verpeléti út*, etc. Relatively few personal names can be found among Hungarian square and street names that owe their existence to spontaneous (i.e. unofficial and not arbitrary) practice of name-giving.

Arbitrary Name-Giving

1. In the past one hundred and fifty years or so, and especially in the last few decades, a new custom of arbitrary name-giving (official terminology) has been pushed pronouncedly into the foreground of geographical nomenclature not only in Hungary but also in other countries. This recent development can be explained partly by necessities arising from modern ways of life and partly by a completely changed approach to terminological problems.

2. One of the most extensive fields where arbitrarily given geographical names have gained strong footing is represented by community names. This name-giving practice has been determined mainly by administrative action.

Such a point has been, for instance, the modern requirement that completely identical names which occur and repeat themselves throughout the country must be distinguished from one another somehow. The distinc-

tive function was adequately fulfilled by the official qualitative attributes put before the earlier given name of the place. The attributes were usually names of rivers, counties or major landscape units: *Földvár* :> *Tiszaföldvár*, *Szentgyörgy* :> *Zalaszentgyörgy*, *Bogdány* :> *Nyírbogdány*, *Böszörmény* :> *Hajdúböszörmény*, etc. In this manner, new, or more accurately, half-new, community names have been formed by the hundreds.

Administrative unification of communities has also often given rise to an arbitrary change of place names. The "new" name was usually derived from the combination of the names of the two localities that were united. This is how the current name of the Hungarian capital was formed from the name of *Buda* situated on the right, and of *Pest* situated on the left side of the Danube. At the beginning and during the middle of the last century the variant in the reverse was preferred: *Pestbuda*. Similar formations are: *Adásztevel* (*Adász* and *Tevel*), *Celldömölk* (*Cell* and *Dömölk*), etc.

3. Another major field where artificial name-giving came to prevail strongly has been that of the street and square names. Here, however, not partially new but completely new methods have been developed. One of the reasons why new official names had to be given is to be sought in the growing requirement of rapidly expanding settlements with their ever-increasing number of squares and streets calling for names. Another reason has been a similarly increasing tendency to honour famous and respectable persons by naming streets and squares after them.

Arbitrary names of streets and squares have brought new features into the system of Hungarian geographical terminology in that the personal names whose stock had been left unexploited by earlier practices began to claim an increasing role in the nomenclature. Such names as the following have been introduced: *Petőfi tér*, *Kossuth Lajos tér*, *Vörösmarty utca*, *Arany János utca*, *József Attila utca*, etc. Nevertheless, there are various drawbacks in indulging in this new type of name-giving. First, the vogue of naming streets and squares after persons has gradually pushed all other ways of name-giving into the background, thus reducing this class of names to an indifferent, stereotyped pattern. Secondly, many a beautiful old name, valuable also sometimes from the point of view of cultural history, has been replaced by this forced practice of re-naming the streets and squares after famous persons. Precisely on account of this vogue of stereotype names it has become highly exigent to take administrative measures with a view toward ensuring sufficient protection for traditional geographical denominations.

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STANDARD HUNGARIAN

by

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At a certain stage of its evolution each language develops a form, an internal variety, which is superior to all other varieties from two points of view, gradually subordinating these, as it were, to its own general prevalence. Viewed from one angle, this form variety represents a super-dialect language standing above regions and regional varieties, that is, all other territorially differentiated dialects. From the other angle, compared to varieties of various occupational branches and educational levels, this form variety is also primordial and more generally observed. These features lend it a rank of distinction, owing to which it is considered a vehicle, a carrier and conveyer of national culture, adequate in form and unique in position. Anything that may exist beside it is regarded as being lower in position, representing a partial type of usage as compared to the main type.

GENERAL PROBLEMS

Problems of Terms and Principles

English usage readily offers a term to denote unequivocally the conception of this main type. If we apply "standard Hungarian" we can express the notion that it is not linked up with one or another occupational branch or some educational level in the narrower sense, but it is something owned *in common*. In addition, the term also expresses that this form variety has received an elevated *normative* function, being a system of established and predominating elements which functions with the power of norms and prevails over all subordinate partial types. Anyone having Hungarian as a mother tongue is to adopt this form as a means of erudition; those of the foreign-speaking wishing to learn Hungarian have to learn this form-variety. Grammars and dictionaries systematizing the material of the Hungarian language observe the material of Hungarian standard; the written and spoken usage of the erudite Hungarians is based on the vocabulary and grammar of the same Standard Hungarian.

1. As regards the Hungarian language, the problem does not seem to be so simple from the terminological point of view. As a matter of fact, no such uniform, unequivocal and effective term exists for denoting the Hungarian standard. This is obviously connected — and even interrelated — with the fact that the long-continued debates of several decades concerning

not only the denomination of the term (of the main type of usage) but also its scope and content have not yet been settled.

The standard — as a vehicle of the common and highest-levels of national culture — comes into relief primarily in *writing*. But it necessarily has its *spoken* equivalent, which only deviates from the written form as speech (acoustic and transient in nature) does in general from the visual and fixed forms of writing. And these form variants are again subject to — equally of necessity — further intrinsic differentiations depending on the nature of the ideas which may be communicated in very different topical spheres and genres, or at rather varied levels, of the intellectual life. Consequently, standard is not a phenomenon undivided in itself, but it also exists in many varieties.

Hungarian standard — as shown below — first came into shape, owing to particular historical conditions, in the written language, and it was only at a later time that the spoken form joined it. Therefore the term applied to it very often has a connotation primarily associated with the written character. A fairly common name of the Hungarian standard is "the Hungarian literary language" (= *irodalmi nyelv*). However, this term definitely and exclusively refers to the written variant, and therefore the notion "common language" (= *köznyelv*) is frequently added. In this way the formulae — rather like definitions — have come into existence: "Hungarian literary language and its spoken variant, the common language"; or when put in a more concise form: "Hungarian common and literary language" (= *köz- és irodalmi nyelv*).

Nevertheless, the main drawbacks of these formulae are not so much their lacking in brevity and being circumferential in expression, pronouncing — just on account of their compound character — a case of duality instead of unity. A much more serious fault with them is that both of the constituent elements in them are vague and ambiguous in meaning which naturally affects their combination as well. In common knowledge "literature" is not a name covering everything that has been written but a specific term for *belles-lettres*. The posterior member of the phrase ("common language") again is not only expressive of what is had in common but can also be interpreted — as often is the case — as "common, ordinary, mean". This is why — *nomen est omen* — the phrase "literary language" is very often restricted, even in expert usage, to expressing the notion of the purely literary language, but that, in turn, with all its concomitant elements, namely with the inclusion of all words and alogisms which the genres of *belles-lettres* may borrow from other sources intrinsically alien in nature, e.g. from partial language types mainly of the lower strata. In this manner, no term is left for a clear-cut denomination of other layers which are not purely literary but still have a claim to distinction. On the other hand, the designation "common language" is also subject to multifarious individual interpretations. Some persons are prone to include in it all elements of the non-dialectal, though otherwise very unpretentious, everyday usage of the man-in-the-street. Very often only that is meant by it.

Considering all these difficulties of terminology, a group of students has rejected the possibility of designating the notion of *standard* by means

of the terms mentioned, trying to find other ways of approach. Departure has been made by them from the assumption that standard, being a conveyer of national culture, is the best-developed form of national usage and — surmounting all other idiomatic variants — is in principle a common form of speech in the language area. This concept gave birth to a further denomination of standard: "national literary language" (= *nemzeti irodalmi nyelv*); and occasionally in a fuller form: "national literary language and the spoken variant thereof: the refined common tongue" (= *a nemzeti irodalmi nyelv és beszélt változata: az igényes köznyelv*). The adjective "national" in this formulation is instrumental in expressing both the developmental phase of the main linguistic type (namely that it has developed and survives in the national phase of social evolution) and its position and scope of function (namely that it has a normative role extending to the usage of the whole nation). But this device has failed to eliminate the inconvenience involved by the ambiguity of the other constituents (literary language, common language) of the denomination, although a certain restriction of meaning has been attempted by the insertion of the adjective "refined".

According to another approach based on the very same concept the term for standard might be plainly "national language" (= *nemzeti nyelv*), in contradistinction to all those partial types that constitute, taken as a whole, the "popular idiom" (= *népi nyelv*), actually representing, for the most part, survivals of some earlier phase of evolution (popular phase) and also displaying traits of "folk-character". This designation certainly has the virtue of brevity. Its drawback, in turn, lies in the fact that it has a preclusive connotation in regard to the partial types, i.e. it may give rise to the idea that the broad strata of population using forms below the "national language", that is standard, were not speaking the national tongue, and thus they were no part, at least from the linguistic point of view, of the nation.

This chaos and lack of precision in terminology raise difficulties in historical research as well. As we can see, standard at its beginnings did not start to evolve from any literary (*belles-lettres*) usage, but on the contrary, from the *non-literary* usage in writing. Thus it would be rather peculiar to speak of a "literary language" or even of the beginnings of literary usage, in view of an epoch where precisely that variety was not present at the level of literature. Therefore endeavours have been made to apply the term "written language" (= *írott nyelv*) for the epoch in question. This is a happy invention even in the sense that the earliest traces of standard in writing had actually presented themselves in that period, whereas in spoken usage its beginning has to be dated much later. But standard at its initial stage had failed to cover the entire field of writing; consequently, this term also has its drawbacks.

The denominations deduced from the other type of concept are again problematical from the historical point of view since they have to throw back the idea of a "national language" to a period in which no nation did socially exist, and what is more, society had not even commenced to transform itself into a nation. A further obstacle is that standard began to evolve in regional forms; and it would be hard indeed to term these "regional national languages" (= *regionális nemzeti nyelvek*).

We must repeat here that these terminological difficulties will cause no problems for the English readers (or readers of English). For them the term "Hungarian standard" will clearly indicate the thing whose historical evolution and present-day position and character is to be examined in this chapter. Yet, the difficulties have to be remembered here, so that the reader may be informed about the impediments the researcher has to overcome when trying to find a clear-cut delimitation of the notion deeply entangled in a mass of unsettled, vaguely defined and variegated terms.

Accordingly, in the rest of this chapter the term Hungarian standard will be consistently applied to that stock of the language and that form variety of usage which is sharply discerned from all regional, dialectal idioms on the one hand, and stands in an elevated position above the inferior levels of usage, on the other, and as such is regarded as an adequate and competent vehicle of the national culture both in verbal and in written manifestations; being at the same time the source of all generally recognized norms of correctness.

2. Terminological questions and questions of approach raise still another group of problems. On the basis of recent investigations into Hungarian standard, it is customary to separate the formal and the contentual language elements: the distinction between these has been adequately supported by the reality of evolution. Here "formal elements" mean in the first place the phonological and orthographical conditions of the linguistic means (words, affixes); the term "contentual elements" is applied to their existing stock and application: vocabulary, modes of construction and style.

Accordingly, formal questions are whether the word meaning 'beautiful' finds its counterpart of standard usage in the form *szép* or *szíp*; whether the normative form of the word meaning 'horse' is *lú* or *ló*, or *lou̯* or *luo̯*, resp. Which element is best suited to express the meaning 'their hands': *kezük, kezök, kezek, kezik?* Which form is correct to express the Imperative (objective) 3rd pers. of the verb *tanít* 'to teach': *tanítsa, taníssa, tanítjja?* How to inflect the verb *eszik* 'to eat' in the Conditional Mood: (*én*) *enném*, (*te*) *ennél*, (*ő*) *ennék*, or: (*én*) *ennék*, (*te*) *ennél*, (*ő*) *enne?* On the other hand, it is a question of content whether 'potato' is called in Hungarian *burgonya*, or *krumpli, kolompér, pityóka, grulya*, or what? Similarly, if *kimegyek* and *megyek ki* are absolutely equivalent forms? If not, is their relation that of correct and incorrect usage, or that of completed and incomplete action? It has been factually demonstrated that formal and contentual elements become standardized in different ways, and what is more, the process is dependent on different factors.

One more question belongs here. The standard, as has been said, shows a stratification in itself. In regard to the content elements — vocabulary, construction, variety of style — even the standard usage may resort to various solutions in e.g. pure literature, journalism, technical literature, popular texts (educational lectures or writings for the general public), etc. Thus the interdependence of form and content can produce style varieties within the scope of the standard. The means that can be utilized in this way are all norm-elements, but they represent different values within the

main type. And standard also has a border area, which is not controlled by the norm but is still within the scope of the standard.

By way of demonstration, let us examine a few sample cases. The normative element to denote 'father' (i.e. the next relative in the ascending male line) is *atya* or *apa* which are equivalent words. However, while *atya* is dignified and official, *apa* is neutral; the word *fater* is outside standard: this being an element of the vulgar spoken usage. In contrast to these, *papa* is inside standard though outside the norm: it is a term of familiar address or naming that cannot be admitted in refined — though not belletristic — written things. Viewed from a different angle, the turns of speech like *kiveckelődik* (*valamiből*) 'he gets out of something' or *óckolódik* (*valamitől*) 'he tries to get rid of something', also belong to this class. Only these are not familiar, but plainly popular; they do not enter the standard as if they were dialectal elements but exist in its peripheral zones as extranormal ones. Similar is the position of the "surviving archaisms" which we know and understand but which, though still within standard, fall outside the norm. Such archaisms largely occur in the formal elements, e.g. forms of imperfect tense: (*én*) *kérék*, (*te*) *kérél*, (*ő*) *kére*. These fringes of standard which offer rich possibilities of style are very important for the literary genres: they are mainly serviceable for augmenting with colourful elements the stock of normative elements which are rather grey anyway, just on account of their indifferent stylistic quality.

It takes a long historical process in every language until the stock of its standard is evolved and the normative elements are selected. This process is very deeply interconnected with the economic, political and spiritual development of the given society. It goes without saying that the diversified course of a nation's history must leave its marks on the development of the language spoken by the nation, but above all, it is the standard that reacts to it most closely, both as a whole and in details. This is particularly true in the case of a nation like the Hungarian, in whose case it is not some completed language form or variety (e.g. a dialect, a regional literary language, or the idiom of a ruling class) that acquired the position of standard, but in which the standard (and a normative layer within it) has evolved as an amalgam of a number of different living varieties.

Historical Relations and Questions of Periodization

Societies are compelled to develop their standards by the needs of economic, political and cultural evolution. In language areas where regional differentiations gave rise to major difficulties in mutual understanding (e.g. in the areas of the Romance or the Germanic tongues), there emerged, as a rule and of necessity, a form of usage as early as the feudal times, which emanating from one or another important centre of economic life, or political affairs, or education (or from centres that were significant from several aspects at the same time), had gradually developed to serve as a means of linguistic communication for itinerant merchants and journeymen and had

also been accepted by the scholastic circles as a super-dialectal and comprehensive idiom in extensive areas. As a matter of course, this process could only produce a sort of regional standard; these were bound to fight each other subsequently until one of them was successful in establishing itself as a norm of nation-wide scope at the expense of the others.

1. From the very first stage of its internal development to, one might say, the recent days, the Hungarian language had never been urged to shape its own standard since the historical necessities to do so had never acted in its area in such a pressing way as they had in the territories of other nations, i.e. languages. The main reasons for this can be summed up as follows:

(a) Essentially, the bulk of the Hungarians of the Conquest period had settled in the Carpathian Basin towards the end of the ninth century (even though some fragmentary groups had infiltrated at an earlier date) and the mass movement of the tribal federation took place within a relatively short span of time. The composition of the various tribes was rather unstable, owing to a considerable fluctuation of their stocks. Parts of them were liable to be detached from the body of the tribe and united with some other tribe. The close ties of the federation involved the possibility for the individual groups to be frequently rearranged among themselves. Thus the different tribal idioms — the existence of which can be surmised rather than proved — could not be differentiated to such a degree as to present any considerable difficulty in general understanding or to prompt the development of some common "koiné".

(b) As far as we know, the process of settlement took place, by and large, in tribal blocks. But the central royal power took measures — as inferred from the consequences of several mutinous actions — in order to reinforce these tribal areas by establishing a relatively thick network of villages inhabited by populations recruited from members of other tribes. Thus the earlier social-political unity of the tribes was deranged and deprived of its former blocklike character. A fairly natural consequence of these measures was that — owing to the resettling communities — the earlier tribal divergences, which had not been very conspicuous in themselves, were gradually transformed into territorial ones, giving way to an intra-territorial equalization instead of further differentiation of the language.

(c) The assimilation of foreign ethnic groups that may have joined as vans in the course of migration of the Hungarian tribes, or may have preceded them in the Carpathian Basin, or may have followed them driven by the last waves of the great migration of peoples, took place in a process evenly distributed in place and time at a very early historical stage. Thus the process was not focussed on any particular area and caused no regional or dialectal differentiation.

(d) Further historical moments that arose to cause the regional divergences not to be differentiated to such an extent as would be harmful to universal mutual understanding were: permanent internal movement; shift of place of residence of the population seeking refuge (e.g. during the Mongol invasion) and re-inhabiting of the devastated regions by populations from

other areas; frequent and long-continued warfares with the Turks and other peoples. Internal migration seems to have been permanent throughout the medieval period and acted as an impediment to the sharpening of dialectal differences. Neither the feudal latifundia nor the boundaries between the various parts of the country had been reinforced to such a degree as to present a really important factor for lingual differentiation.

Thus, historical circumstances did not make it necessary for the Hungarian language for a long time to develop a standard, a main type of usage that would comprehend all the other dialect areas. People with linguistic habits of different language areas could always understand each other, even though they sometimes found each other's idioms strange.

2. There are other types of historical factors seen at work whose influence was decidedly unfavourable for the development of a standard as the vehicls of a common and more refined national education, retarding the procese rather than promoting it. The most significant ones of this kind are the following:

(a) The official language of the Christian Church, as well as of the royal court installing state administration had been not Hungarian but Latin throughout medieval times. The erudite classes used Latin in writing and read Latin with ease; this circumstance again did not only not necessitate the development of a Hungarian standard but was definitely detrimental to it. Admittedly, the leaders of the spiritual life — primarily in the Church — were persons of foreign origin at the very beginnings only; and we find an overwhelming majority of Hungarians at the top positions of the state administration. Nevertheless, their language of education was Latin, just as foreigners used Latin at the earliest times, or possibly in subsequent periods when the spread of humanistic erudition was promoted by foreign scholars visiting the country. Thus the mother tongue is seen to course in the undercurrents of evolution; and very rarely did it manifest itself at the peaks where it failed to make its influence felt. In this manner, if it succeeded in penetrating the clerical and administrative spheres, it could do so only as a guest-element. And as such, it hardly could cherish a pretence or even a thought of standardization.

(b) Following the trail of queens, courtiers, knights, and high priests, who were not fundamentally influential, though still of some issue, in the development of Hungarian history, there also appeared towards the end of the fifteenth century the first kings of foreign nationalities, occupying the Hungarian throne; on the other side, we find representatives of the bourgeois classes, manufacturers and merchants, coming into the country mainly from German-speaking and also, to a lesser extent, from other areas. Not only did the economic growth and higher education thus derive from foreign sources but they also maintained their foreign traits as regards both content and language in this country. Erudition and denationalization on the one hand, and Hungarian ethnic character and backwardness, on the other, used to mean almost synonymous things throughout the centuries. What could have induced the Hungarian-speaking masses to shape a polished and all-comprehensive standard under such circumstances? And what

could have induced the classes of non-Hungarians, or at least of those writing and reading in a language other than Hungarian, to bring into existence a thing which they had no need of?

(c) One more thing should be remembered finally: owing to adverse historical circumstances, the Hungarian nation, and mainly the Hungarian masses, had been continually hindered through the course of many centuries in their efforts to develop a large-scale economy or to unfold a more refined form of social or educational life. When the manufacturing industry flourished in England, the Hungarian peasants had to hide in the thick of the forests or in the pathless confines of moors and marshlands trying to find shelter from the ravaging Turks or from the Hapsburgian military troops who were equal to the Turks when it came to pillaging the rural population. In this way they had to fight for their mere subsistence, and when England was deeply engaged in world trade, Hungarian rural economy was still stagnating at a level of primitive autarky where a happy condition prevailed if the family could produce the humblest means of subsistence through agriculture and home industry.

To sum up what has been set forth so far, the course of development of Hungarian standard, owing to unfavourable historical circumstances, followed a rather protracted path and was repeatedly interrupted. But somehow, in spite of all retarding factors, the development was still continuous and unbroken. If not at the higher levels of Power and education, certainly in the lower layers of population there lived a claim for an idiomatic culture and for an adequate means of national education: for a well-shaped, uniform language variety that would cover the entire nation. Precisely for this reason, Hungarian standard has had its own positive history of evolution, notwithstanding the difficulties mentioned. It is positive not only because it has overcome the difficulties and, in the last analysis, was successful in producing a refined Hungarian capable of transmitting in an adequate way the best developed cultural products of the world but also because it has been completed unprotected by kings and rulers and unaided by circumstances. In fact, it has been rather against the intention of kings and contrary to circumstances that it has been completed. And this fact in itself is a token of a people's will to live and to survive, and we might even say, it has been not only a witness but also an instrument of that will.

Consequently, Hungarian standard has not resulted from some "royal Hungarian" gaining victory over the idioms of provincial Hungarians; just on the contrary: it is a feat of provincial Hungarian idioms that have been united, balanced and elevated in position. Let us be plain: it has not been aristocratic but democratic in its origin and it is characterized by the presence of a multitude of plebeian elements. It has a rougher path to look back upon than has many a language with a more favourable past. This, however, does not diminish its value, on the contrary, it raises it.

3. Standard — as shown above — is a settled, delimited and self-contained system of an internal language type which is superior to all other varieties, owing to its highly developed character and its outstanding

position in the furthering of national education. The historian of languages in which the standard was developed from some existing variety has to face the task of describing the way of elevation only. But as regards other language types, including Hungarian, the problem is two-sided. The first sphere of problems includes questions of when, how, and from what sources the internal language-variety which at a subsequent date received the rank of standard came into existence. Questions of when and how that self-contained internal variety received its rank of standard require another set of answers. Of course, the two phases are rather hypothetically separated one from the other, but at the same time they could be only hypothetically identified with each other. The evolutional history of a standard that resulted from processes of equalization and amalgamation and its history of receiving the rank of distinction above all other varieties represent two aspects of the same development which are mutually influential on, though independent of, each other.

As to the periodization of the development, we can discover nodal points rather than fixed boundary lines dividing them. With due reservation, however, we can delimit the different periods of development in the following way:

(a) From the end of the tenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century: the period of preparation.

(b) From the middle of the sixteenth century to the last third of the eighteenth century: a (rather protracted) period of the characteristic features coming into relief, and the beginnings of being distinguished as a standard.

(c) From the last third of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century: the characteristic features are reinforced and the rank of standard is finally recognized.

(d) From the middle of the twentieth century on: beginnings of a quick replacement of other internal varieties. As a matter of course, the periods thus delimited offer possibilities for further division within themselves: upswings and years of relaxing are seen to alternate in them. And it is not the specifically linguistic events that primarily mark the boundaries of the individual periods and stages within the periods (which are sometimes delimited by seemingly sharp outlines but practically are never thought to be so delimitable). The boundaries are mainly determined by external, one should say "extra-linguistic" events. As has been said above, the history of standards reacts most sensitively to various social-historical changes. Of all internal language-types, this one shows the closest dependence on them. Consequently, the boundary lines are mostly marked by major historical events. They are connected with those occurrences which may have created either favourable or unfavourable conditions for the standard to be established or distinguished. They indicate those nodal points at which something very important had happened *to* the language, concerning the language, or in behalf of the language. For these are primarily determinative of the changes that may have set in a given period of the language, i.e. *within* the language: in its development, in its formation, and consequently in its scope and even in its system.

A HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN STANDARD

Period of Preparation. From the End of the Tenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century

It follows from what has been said so far that investigation into the evolution of Hungarian standard has to disregard, at least for its initial stages, two of the most influential factors: the Church, representing medieval education, and the Court that had most to do with national development. Particular conditions in Hungary are responsible for that. Admittedly, both of them had been successful in fulfilling their historical tasks; but neither of them was interested in matters of Hungarian linguistic development, at least not to such a degree as might have been of any material consequence for the shaping of a Hungarian standard whether in a spoken or a written form.

1. Yet, the administration of the state, and later the Church, were the media in which the germs of Hungarian writing could first appear. An entire series of linguistic records shows that the practice of conceiving documents in Latin had involved the necessity of introducing Hungarian linguistic elements in them. This was done not for linguistic, but merely for legal reasons. Deeds of donation, records about inspection of landmarks, registers of estates, lists of servants, etc. were the first cradles of Hungarian idiomatic writing, since the names of persons and places could not be rendered otherwise without serious danger to proper identification. Thus these were inserted in their Hungarian forms into the basic texts. (Fortunately, the names of places and persons at that time had mainly been of common-word origin, i.e. bearing direct connections with common-word elements of the vocabulary.) What is more: the scribes often tried to preserve the original dialectal forms of the regions concerned. Although they did not do so in every case: in this respect already we can observe an almost complete absence of any substantial divergence between the particular regional varieties.

The office of the Royal Chancellor had gradually developed from the earlier practice of writing documents although it was not before the second half of the thirteenth century that it commenced to function as an organized permanent state bureau. In earlier times chapters, monasteries, i.e. authorized ecclesiastical institutions were the places where deeds and documents were drafted; these were subsequently approved and sealed at the Chancellery. Hungarian words inserted in the Latin texts appeared as guest-elements only; these are termed sporadic or scattered text-words. It is only natural that a fairly long time was to elapse before the influence of the Chancellery could make itself felt in what might be called a somewhat uniform spelling of Hungarian language elements.

Could this minimal quantity of Hungarian linguistic material induce the officials involved to think of establishing a super-dialectal standard? Obviously not: the basic texts of the deeds were Latin, and the sporadic Hungarian words in them were authentic only if reflecting the local usage. Can it be surmised that a sort of "koiné", a commonly acknowledged

variety, was born in the wake of their activity? Again, this does not seem probable; the Chancellery maintained contact with the other official places by way of correspondence, i.e. in writing, and it is very plausible that they preferred Latin in verbal communication as well. The only question that might have given food for consideration of those Hungarian words embedded in the Latin documents was: how to use the *phonetic symbols?* The system of Hungarian phonetic signs is ampler than that of Latin, and consequently such sounds had to be marked in the sporadic words which did not exist in Latin.

Indeed, by the end of the fourteenth century a certain system of spelling had been crystallized in Chancellery practice. Although not consistently at all, an endeavour was made to differentiate between the more problematical sounds. In the first place, a combination of signs was introduced. Let us take the following — incomplete — set of examples:

sound	letter	sound	letter
s	*z*	*z*	*z*
š	*s*	*ž*	*s*
c	*cz*	*č*	*ch*
ť	*ty*	*ď*	*gy*
ń	*ny*	*ľ*	*ly*
i	*y*	*j*	*y*
u	*w*	*v*	*w*
ü	*w*	*ű*	*w*
ö	*ew*	*ő*	*ew*

As can be seen, the system was rather incomplete: related phonemes were often denoted with identical characters. Furthermore, this system, incomplete as it is, was not exempt from vacillation: the *č* sound is marked, besides *ch*, also by *c*, *z*, *s*, *sc*, each of these symbols occurring here and there with the phonemic value of *s*. As regards genesis, these forms of spelling follow the Middle-European practice, bearing partly German, and partly Italian and French influences.

As regards equalization, the impact of the Chancellery could hardly extend any further: it certainly had left language and usage untouched. True, some extreme dialectal features seem to have been omitted from the sporadic text-words. But this is more probably due to a fashion of spelling than to a changed condition of the language. Minor linguistic records issued from places other than Chancellery reflect the Chancellery practice, by and large, up to the fifteenth century, although their spelling was belated, as compared to contemporary Chancellery practice, by fifty to a hundred years, as a rule.

2. Beneath the surface of Latin usage an undercurrent of orally transmitted — because it never was recorded by pen — literature flourished in Hungarian. Minstrels (performers of historical songs) and jesters (*joculatores*) may have brought its products to the Court; at the same time, this kind of secular poetry may have enjoyed a wide currency at lower social levels as well. This is brought out by occasional remarks of contemporary

historians. These remarks reveal, however, that that kind of oral literature could hardly have involved the necessity of standardization. For example, Bonfinius, historian of King Matthias Corvinus, mentions that Hungarian lords and peasants, as well as the inhabitants of the various regions of Hungary, understood each others' speech without any difficulty; that is, the Hungarians of the late fifteenth century spoke — what appeared to his mind, trained to sharp dialectal differences in Italy — a uniform language. Let it suffice that the verbally conceived vernacular poetry, narrative songs and historical lays, were not inducive to the development of a standard language.

3. The national vernacular began to claim its rights beside the Latin in the Church life mainly orally, but here and there also in writing. The first extant record of Hungarian, the Funeral Sermon (written in prose around 1200), as well as the first Hungarian text in verse, the Old Hungarian Marian Lament (from c. 1300) reveals a fairly developed sense of style and composition which points back to a longer course of erudition. Neither of these documents should be taken to be the first attempts of Hungarian composition in prose or verse, respectively. The handling of form — both of them being free translations — refers to the skilled hand of a fairly developed vernacular practice. But as regards their linguistic aspects and that of the next minor record, there is no indication in them of their authors having been influenced by any "norm". They certainly had no standard of usage in mind.

No indications of this can be discovered in the subsequent centuries either, although the amount of manuscripts in Hungarian was greatly increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, owing to the secular movements gradually emerging from ecclesiastical life. The volumes of manuscripts compiled of translations for the use and edification of nuns and monks — the codices — already assumed the proportions of books. Still they reflect, for the most part, the dialect of their authors, i.e. translators; if not this, then perhaps a medley of author and scribe, or occasionally the personal predilection of the imitator who got rid of the dialectal ties. Spelling also shows a variegated picture: earlier traditions survived in many forms, the system partially developed by the Chancellery was broken up; and the Hussite principles asserting themselves in Hungary opened channels for Czech (Bohemian) influences, to render the situation even more difficult to survey.

From the point of view of content elements (vocabulary, sentence construction, style) a kind of uniformity seems to be observable in the religious products of the manuscripts. This, however, should not be ascribed to a sort of literary standard coming to prevail in contemporary usage. It should rather be regarded as a natural consequence of the fact that the codices were all translated from Latin ecclesiastical texts. Their common characteristics reflect the influence of Church Latin. It may be equally assumed that the individual author-translators received inspirations independent of each other from the style pattern of the Latin works, instead of being governed by some Hungarian School modelled after the Latin.

As concerns the formal elements (the forms in which the words and suffixes are given) even a lesser claim to standardization is shown by them. A grouping by monastic orders of the Hungarian MSS, or according to relationships in content, will not quadrate with their linguistic classification. As a matter of fact, these works allow for systematization not according to "schools", but according to dialects. Of course, not even the dialect types, or the microdialects are brought into clear relief in them. Nevertheless, if signs of amalgamation or normalization are seen in them, these can be explained as occasional, individual attempts due to personal predilection rather than to some endeavour for a recognized linguistic ideal.

In the instances of one or two MS volumes we can perhaps discover traces of certain language conditions pointing towards the modern standard usage. It seems so at least in comparison with the overwhelming majority of the codices. By all means, more than one dialectal centre can be discovered in the period (a main centre in the attraction area of Pest and Székesfehérvár; another peripheral one in the northeastern regions, which are relatively safe from dialectal extremes prevailing in other regions such as features of *í*-ing, *ő*-ing; more closed or more opened pronunciation; incomplete assimilation of suffixes *-val*, *-vel*, etc.). But as the spelling of the MS volumes is inconsistent in many ways (e.g. *e* and *ë* are not discerned, vowel length is not marked), the emerging centres cannot be regarded as bearing signs of standardization either.

Hungarian codices follow two patterns of spelling. In principle, the one is a continuation of the Chancellery practice: sounds unknown to Latin are marked by combinations of letters. Chancellery solutions are, for example, *ny*, *ly*, *ty*, *gy*, or the combination of *ew* for *ö*; further, attempts at marking long vowels like *aa*, *ee*, *uu* also occur, though sporadically, in that type of spelling, which applies combinations of symbols and does not resort to the use of diacritics. The other type of system, Hussitic in origin, tries to make up for the letters lacking in Latin by introducing diacritics. As a characteristic example of this can be quoted the stock of symbols in the Vienna Codex:

sound	letter	sound	letter
s	*ź*	*z*	*z*
š	*s*	*ž*	*ś*
c	*ć*	*č*	*ı*
g	*ġ (g)*	*ď*	*g (ġ)*
ť	*t*	*ń*	*ṅ*
i	*i (y)*	*j*	*i (y)*
ö	*ǫ*	*ő*	*ǫ*
ü	*u̇, ȣ*	*ű*	*u̇, ȣ*
e	*ȅ*	*ë*	*e, ė*
ē	*ȅ*	*é*	*e, ė*

This pattern type rejects the solution by combining symbols and applies diacritics instead. More pairs of sounds are discerned in it (e.g. *s* and *z*, *š* and *ž* receive special marks). The duration of vowels, however, is left unmarked in this system, too.

Research has shown that those who initiated this latter type of spelling system must have considered several dialectal forms of the sound group *e*, in which endeavour a superdialectal tendency became manifest. The short and long sounds of intermediate position, *ë* and *é*, have common symbols, but each of them has two, *e* and *ė*. The two kinds of symbols are used according to a definite rule. The symbol of the short sound is *e*, provided it occurs in the invariable form *ë* in all the dialects (e.g. *lë, të, në*, etc.), but it is marked as *ė* if it occurs as *ë* in one dialect group and *ö* in another (e.g. *embėr* = *embër* ~ *embör*). The long variant is also marked by *e*, provided it is pronounced as *é* in intermediate position in all the dialects (e.g. *Iesus* = *Jézus*), and it is marked as *ė* if pronounced in some dialects as *é* and in others as *í* (e.g. *nėp* = *nép* ~ *níp*). Of course, this system could hardly assert itself in its purest form in the written records; it soon came to be dissolved.

Can this system be taken for the first attempt at developing a sort of standard? Not really. A standard is destined to reduce the dialectal differences to nothing; this system of notation did not aim at eliminating the differences, rather, it wished to conceal them, which would have been a way of preserving them. Anyway, the above two systems of spelling appeared as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, confused one with the other in the MSS. The combination of symbols alternated with diacritics within one and the same manuscript, denoting sometimes one and the same sound.

4. We have seen that the state (public life) and the Church had Latin as a means of communication in that period; poetry (the belletristic products of the time) was mainly spread in Latin when it came to be written down; its conveyer was Hungarian in the oral tradition only. All of this makes it easy to understand that the development of the standard was belated: none of the factors mentioned was conducive to the enfolding of a superdialectal common form.

Nevertheless, we have called — and we have been justified in doing so — the period of time from the end of the tenth century to the middle of the sixteenth the period of preparation. Writing down of things in Hungarian was begun within that span of time, first sporadically, one should say almost by chance, then in great multitudes, one should say almost intentionally. The mother tongue took over ever higher spheres from the Latin, penetrating deeper and deeper into the cultural life of the period. On the most decisively formal side, on that of the spelling, efforts are seen to have been made with a view to systematizing the rules of spelling according to a uniform pattern. As a matter of course, none of the experiments could come into a monopoly position. But it was in this field that the increasing quantity and the great variety of written things may have induced the Hungarian writers to realize the lack of a uniform practice, as well as the importance of a uniform standard. In any case, endeavours were made to that end. Thus the period, negative in many respects as it was, had still prepared the next one that made positive attempts at shaping a Hungarian standard.

Period of the Characteristics Coming into Relief, the Beginning of the Upswing. From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the Last Third of the Eighteenth Century

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century several factors are seen at work which directed the evolutional trend to a sort of standardization of Hungarian usage. The spread of the ideas of the reformed Church involved the dominance of the vernacular in the religious mass-movements. Book-printing was soon introduced, and the art of writing and reading was extended to a very remarkable degree. What is more, Hungarian now became the language of learning. Even the dissection of the country's territory into three parts* was to a certain extent a promoting agent inasmuch as public life became Hungarian in language in extensive areas.

1. The first products of Hungarian printing presses were issued by Protestant authors. Most consequential of these were the Bible translation by Gáspár Károli, and the translation of the Book of Psalms by Albert Szenczi Molnár. The contents of these two books were recited and sung by heart even by those who were illiterate. In addition, they were sacred texts whose form could not be altered, not even in the course of oral transmission. But the Bible published in 1590 and the Psalm Book which followed at a later date, had a kind of lingual tradition to rely upon: they were not only highly influential factors in, but to a certain extent also products of, Hungarian standard in the making.

The first fifty years of book-printing in Hungarian (1527—1576) show that at the beginning each author followed his own vernacular dialect, i.e. he gave free vent to a sense of individually developed form, the elements of which he gathered in his early years as a child, and enriched subsequently as a student at home and abroad. The printer-author or printer-publisher who often transcribed the manuscript in the course of editing, let his personal usage prevail (as did e.g. Gáspár Heltai) instead of some standard undeveloped at that time. Yet, the printed texts in this fifty-year period reveal an ever-increasing number of instances in which a language form exempt from all extremes claims its rights as the antecedent of modern Hungarian standard.

What is strange in all this is that the form mentioned was used by those authors of the period who were connected — almost unexceptionally — to the northeastern areas in one way or another. They were bound to that part of the country either by birth or by their place of education or activity. By all means, the bibliographies of these authors contain references to Kassa (Košice), Sárospatak, Debrecen; later also Kolozsvár (Cluj) entered the list as a town closely connected with Debrecen; finally, Bihar county also followed suit on behalf of the Catholic party.

* In that tragic historical period lasting for more than one century and a half, the middle part of the country was occupied by the Turks, the western and the northern areas belonged to the Hapsburgian empire, while the Transylvanian regions constituted an independent princedom.

It would be difficult indeed to establish to what extent the language type of these authors, or the idiom asserting itself in the said regions, is to be regarded as a vernacular dialect, and at what stage it reaches the level of a budding standard. What is beyond dispute is that there exists a well-delimitable part in the northeastern area whose dialect shows — mainly from the viewpoint of phonetics — a fairly balanced picture not unlike that of present-day standard Hungarian. But it is equally obvious at the same time that that dialect type in itself could hardly meet the requirements of a standard language, although it soon exceeded the scope of a minor dialect both territorially and as regards its importance (and also character).

As is well known, Hungarian dialects contain examples of pronounced labialization (e.g. *vüsz, köll, püspök*) as well as of the other extreme: the total absence of labialization (e.g. *visz, këll, pispëk*). There is an extreme of closed types (e.g. *lú, kű, nagyfejű; szíp, kísír, kíván*) and an extreme of open types (e.g. *ló, kő, nagyfejű; szép, késér, kéván*). If these extremes were to be balanced in some artificial, i.e. compromising, way, we would arrive, by and large, at a solution as follows: *visz, këll;* but *püspök;* viz. *ló, kő;* but *nagyfejű;* viz. *szép*, but *kíván* and *kísér*. This would constitute a bridging-over of the extremes. And peculiarly enough, this theoretical mean has come to prevail in reality in various patches of the mentioned area (i.e. the northeastern parts) as a result of natural development.

Thus the authors of the time wishing to influence the wider reading public might have found the proper way between the dialectal extremes in the language of those who preferred their own northeastern vernacular to all other possible form-variants. But if one had wanted to make experiments in balancing the several existing dialects in some artificial way, one would have hit upon a similar compromising solution.

There was one more thing to back the chances of the northeastern dialect as a distinguished form, namely its geographical-political situation. The central ranges of the country were under Turkish occupation while Transylvania was an independent state and the western—northwestern fringes were situated too near to royal Vienna. True, the northeastern borders also belonged there politically, but they were still separated by a good distance from the Austrian capital and were thus not exposed so much to its immediate pressure. It is therefore not by mere chance that Hungarian education and Hungarian vernacular, witnessing an upswing in the period of Reformation, found, for the most part, a place of refuge in these northeastern regions. Authors and erudites of the reading public came to meet here from very distant corners of the country and they must have mutually influenced each other which resulted in a process of equalization. However, the question as to what part the process of compensation may have had in the crystallization of that kind of standard-like form in precisely those geographical areas will remain unsettled for us, and will remain so perhaps for ever. But this perhaps is not so vital to answer.

What really matters is that by the end of the sixteenth century there started — as shown by recent investigations — a standardization in the mentioned area as well as in several other regions. More or less palpably

four forms began to develop in the Hungarian language area that are not to be regarded as simple dialects any more, since they are much more consequential than that — they are regional norms. The first is the western one — rather modest in spread and consistency. The second one in the southern regions occupied by the Turks is mainly used by the scribes of the pashas. The third form which is also superior to a particular dialect is confined to the eastern, Transylvanian areas. The fourth, bearing perhaps the most decisive marks of a norm, is the mentioned one, that of the northeastern regions. Of these, the last one seems to be the most capable of evolution. It is not by mere chance again that this one has received all the support in the course of further development. Under favourable conditions this form became the vehicle of most of the highly influential products of Protestant literature; and it also had its share in the Counter-Reformation. On the Catholic side, Péter Pázmány was the most outstanding representative and propagator of this type.

2. Thus by the end of the sixteenth century the internal form-variant had developed in its main outlines which later — not very soon and not without difficulty — provided the basis of standard. However, as regards function, it was far from obtaining the status of a standard at that time, first, because it was but one of the four regional variants, secondly because it was not a compulsory norm even within its own scope; everybody wishing to use it, or to approach it, did so in a quite arbitrary way. Finally, it did not lay hold of the whole of the spiritual life, it did not even extend its control to its own territory. It was precisely in the field of literature where it primarily failed to come to exclusive prevalence.

Let us return to the first decades of book-printing in Hungarian. At most one third of the published works can be regarded as pertaining to literature proper in the first fifty years, and even that requires the inclusion of chronicles, calendars and histories. Well-nigh half of the materials published were composed of editions of the Bible, psalms, theological works and products of religious controversies, or books of sermons. The remaining sixth falls to the share of secular literature. All this is to say that what we see here at the initial stage of its development is really no literary language. The impetus for normalization was not at all given by literature. And even the Church had but the role of propagator in this respect. What is more, it is not even the printed books where the endeavour for an equalization is most explicitly present. It is rather manifest, in a peculiar manner, in the activity of a class of people whose ambition did not even attain the level of printed books, although their means of subsistence was mainly determined — to a much greater extent than was the case with the authors — by the fact that they knew how to write.

This class of people was represented by the scribes who were recruited from the most varied layers of the population. We find among them individuals of noble, bourgeois or villein origin coming up from the most diverse parts of the country. Their education was rather mediocre. Most of them were engaged by the feudal lords; others served public institutions (city magistrates, county councils). Their only claim to their posts was their

qualification to read and write. But it was due precisely to this fact that they were the first to raise a claim for making the language in which they worked understandable in every part of the country, since they never really knew in what region they were to secure their living by their pens.

Detailed examination of a collection of letters originating from many hands (mainly bound to the northeastern regions) has proved that it is the language condition of the scribes and not of the authors of letters that shows an approximation towards uniformity. The pens of the more educated lords were subject to many more dialected features than the scribes'. The landowners of humbler erudition wrote almost exclusively in dialects. But the tendency of the language of the scribes to be uniform was not obligatory either. The proof of this is to be found in the fact that their employers' usage was widely divergent from that of theirs. The lords accepted the language forms as written by the scribes but they did not think it pressingly obligatory for them to follow suit. That it was still regarded as a kind of norm appears from the circumstance that it is more respected in the official letters — even if written by the landowners themselves — than in the private ones. But even in this relation, the northeastern form of the language was not the only kind of standard, not even in the scribes' practice.

In summing up what has been said so far we may state that the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the appearance of an internal form-variety of language which contained all the necessary properties for becoming a generally acknowledged norm in times to follow. It primarily covered the writing practice outside literature but it also infiltrated into the products of the printing presses and perhaps the most influential ones of them, which was not an accident either. It developed in the vicinity of the region whose dialect was similar to it; though it cannot be taken for a mere refined form of that dialect; it should also be considered a local equalization of several extreme dialect types.

3. Under more favourable historical circumstances the final stage of evolution would have arrived sooner. The happy start of this regional standard was characterized by all features that promised a course of development in which it might have been exalted to the rank of a national norm.

However, the fragmentation of the country into three parts lasted for more than one hundred and fifty years and the "royal" power expending and gaining strength after the expulsion of the Turks had remained for a long time a foreign (Austrian) one. Its former endeavours to Germanize the nation — primarily in the western and northwestern parts — were extended with increasing force to the whole of the country. Only Transylvania, preserving its independence for a while, was exempt from the impact of this policy. In reaction to the Germanizing tendencies, the public life represented by the lower nobility, as well as the national education propagated by schools, was gradually re-Latinized. Hungarian culture, Hungarian in its language, had had outstanding peaks during the two centuries following the expulsion of the Turks. It certainly maintained its continuity

but it could not exert such a mass-influence as would have prompted and promoted the final establishment of a national standard. Transylvania, which had preserved its mother tongue, approached in more than one respect the northeastern norm of the time; but on the one hand, Transylvania was struggling with difficulties owing to continual vexations from foreign powers, and on the other hand, it failed to emanate its influence to those parts of the country which were governed by the "royal", i.e., Austrian, rule. This explains, among other things, why at a later date, when science in Hungarian arrived at a new stage of upswing, it was not a continuation of the preliminary steps taken by the great forerunner, János Apáczai Csere, but a completely new start in the strictest sense of the word.

The stage of development achieved by the end of the sixteenth century was not reduced to nothing. On the contrary, it was even furthered to a certain extent, mainly because the slight literary production in the seventeenth century and in the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century was rather confined to the traditional foundations. But again the hero of this course was not literature but science, primarily linguistics, that is to say, the writing of grammars. The meagre literary crop of the period is rather frequently characterized by provincialism, or regionalism. Miklós Zrínyi, this deservedly honoured literary figure of the seventeenth century, is a representative in both his poetry and his prose of a kind of western regional standard at its initial stage rather than the norm of the northeastern region, which had not attained the rank of standard at that time. Grammarians, however, and those pointing forward to the regularization of spelling, seem to have had the present-day standard in view.

As a matter of course, the historical *non putarem* is to be taken into account in this case as well, and it is not advisable to disregard it. If only the ten grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are considered, precisely half of them are northeastern by birth. Three of the rest originate from other parts, but even they were either educated or otherwise engaged in this region, namely at Kassa, Sárospatak, or Debrecen. It would again be difficult to establish to what extent the local regional peculiarities are responsible for the grammarians' propositions pointing towards the present-day standard, and what the share of the above-described northeastern regional norm-variety in them is. But that the latter already had a firm is shown by the fact that the only one of the ten grammarians who had been not linked up with the region either by birth or by occupation followed the norms of that particular language condition. On the other hand, the work of our last author not involved so far represented a rather provincial norm of the western kind in its first edition, which, however, was adapted to the northeastern form in subsequent editions.

All this seems to indicate that in spite of an unfavourable history, the period from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries was really successful in creating that internal language variety which later became the root of the present-day standard. What is more, it also ensured its predominance over the other regional norms. Thus, besides shaping its characteristic features, the period in question was also responsible for the first steps toward ensuring the functional rank of that norm. Let us

add that these initial steps were decisively influential only at the end of the period. They were initial not only in respect to the delimited geographical region, but also as regards its scope within the region. The grammarians adopting it as a fixed norm were legalizing their own desire and endeavour as much at least as they were reflecting the attained level of evolution.

It should be not lost from sight that above the horizon of a vernacular education, belated in its development, and the kind of standard which struggled hard with the task of becoming an adequate vehicle to it, there loomed the Latin, and there arose the German as ready-made and current vehicles of erudition. State administration and public life of the nobility, as well as higher science, preferred Latin, while the bourgeois-urban scholarship and the enfolding industry in Hungary lived and developed to no slight extent on German; urban culture and industry relied on the national idiom but in a very restricted measure. The standards established in the books of grammarians — or rather the visage of an established standard — was fairly successful in uniting the formal traits of language and usage; baroque literature and the genre of memoirs have also produced outstanding works; but as regards its content elements, the language remained underdeveloped and unprepared to meet the requirements arising from the fields of industry, economy, trade and commerce, state administration and science. Neither Hungarian vocabulary nor Hungarian style in the period under discussion was able to cope with the problems of the topical spheres mentioned; there were no means of cultivating them, as there were neither authors nor reading public for them.

It would be a naive complacence indeed to disown the fact that prior to the last third of the eighteenth century Hungarian standard was hardly more than a possibility; it was rather a potentiality that strove for realization, than an existing and firmly established and socially ripened reality.

4. It is worth while paying attention to the development of spelling in the period under discussion. As appears from the foregoing, the endeavours to develop a standard had stood consistently on the basic principle of regionalism; in spite of the fierce antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics no denomination-bound language varieties arose. — In the domain of spelling, however, it was just these antagonisms, that division according to Churches, that brought about fairly conspicuous differences and oppositions. Since book-printing was an almost exclusive monopoly of the Protestants for several decades, the first system of spelling which prevailed was Protestant. Later, as a consequence of a strengthening Counter-Reformation movement, a Catholic system of spelling had also developed. Of course, both systems were vacillating and contaminating for almost two centuries; but their separation was maintained to the last third of the eighteenth century, i.e. to the beginning of the next period.

The Protestant system of sound notation was an amalgam of the Chancellery tradition, of Hussitic experiments, and of the practice of the Cracow printing presses. It was superior to all former systems inasmuch as it made efforts to render each phoneme by means of a separate symbol or combina-

tion of symbols. It also paid heed to the differences between vowels of long and short duration (at least when the symbol for the short one was not complemented by a diacritic). Closed *ë* (marked: *e*) was distinguished from the open one (marked: *ę*); the combinations of *eo* and *ew* of the Chancellery practice approached the diacritic solutions in the forms of *ő*, viz. *ů* (in phonemic values *ö*, *ő*, viz. *ü*, *ű*). Application of diacritics was also preferred to mark the duration of vowels (*á*, *ó*, *ú*, *é*, *í*; but the sounds *ő*, *ű* were denoted by the same letters as their short variants). The sounds *i* and *j* were gradually separated (by the *i*, viz. *j* symbols).

While in this manner the principle of one letter plus diacritic was fully enfolded in the field of vowels, the combination of symbols without adding diacritics was applied with increasing consistency for the notation of consonants. This principle was fully observed in the separation of the palatalized sounds (*ty*, *gy*, *ny*, *ly*) and in that of the sibilants (*sz*, *tz*, *cz*); and even the duration of the consonants was marked (*dd*, *tt*, etc.; *kk*, or *ck*), according to tradition. This system of spelling was brought to prevail by the appearance of the two most consequential books: the Bible translation by Károli and the Books of Psalms translated by Szenczi Molnár. But as regards further development, the simplifying of one of the notations was by no means indifferent; both of the two works mentioned ignore the difference between the two distinct (closed and open) *e* sounds.

Catholic spelling was fixed — in over fifty years' time — by another translation of the Bible, produced by György Káldy. Later it was led to victory by the works of the most prominent figure of the Counter-Reformation, Péter Pázmány. The difference between this notation system and that of the Protestants is not very considerable. In this system the vowels are also marked by one letter and with the aid of diacritics. The two kinds of *e* sound were not distinguished. For the consonants, combinations of symbols were used, only in a different way (e.g. c = *cz*, č = *ch*, then *cs*); this usage was not consistent in this respect (for ž = *ź*).

A much greater difference developed between the two systems of spelling by the late eighteenth century with respect to the rules concerning the spelling of the morpheme complexes. In the main, after some initial uncertainties, the principle of leaving the combinations into affricates unmarked was generally accepted in the Hungarian practice; in other words, the principle of etymological spelling came to predominate in word-types like: *imádság*, *lágyság*; *tudsz*, *látsz*, etc. (pronounced: *imáččág*, *láččág*, viz. *tucc*, *lácc*, etc.). This found its way into both Protestant and Catholic spelling. But the latter ignored the same principle in connection with the palatal gradation of consonants. Thus a differentiation evolved, on the basis of which Protestant spelling had *tudja*, *látja*, *bánja*, *tolja* (following the etymological principle), while Catholic spelling maintained the phonetic principle (*tuggya*, i.e. *tudgya*, *láttya*, *bánnya*, *tollya*).

The equalization of these two systems (based on denominational antagonisms), as well as that of the various regional systems, remained a task for the next period to come; in that period all possible points of view were subordinated by urgent historical needs to the most important one, namely, to that of national unity.

Its Characteristics Having Become Solid, the Standard is Generally Recognized. From the Last Third of the Eighteenth to the Middle of the Twentieth Centuries

The Enlightenment spreading over Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century hit both a Hungarian society and a Hungarian language, without any preparation. The social-economic structure of the country was characterized by an almost intact feudalism; as regards the political situation, the nation was almost completely left at the mercy of the Hapsburg dynasty. The wars of liberation in the preceding periods (led by Gábor Bethlen, Imre Thököly, Ferenc Rákóczi II) ended with temporary success at best, if they were not utter failures, and were followed by ever-increasing oppression. The peace treaties and compromises concluded with the ruling house restricted the rights of the nobility but also reinforced their economic status in its conservative form. But since the wars of liberation started from Transylvania, their defeat had a disadvantageous effect on its development as well. The situation was still worse in the western regions governed by the Viennese Court. Industrialization, with the concomitant urbanization, was concentrated in the Austrian part of the Austro–Hungarian empire; the Hungarian part continued to maintain its extensive agricultural character as the "granary of the empire". The Hungarian aristocracy became completely occidentalized, lived abroad and gave up its mother tongue. The landed petty nobility stagnated with a kind of Latinized semi-culture in scattered rural mansions; urban industry did not yet exceed the level of handicraft manufacturing, its representatives being small in number and mainly Germanic in culture, if this term can be applied to them at all.

During the Middle Ages Latin was an adequate vehicle for the ecclesiastical scholarship as it was a promoting factor for humanistic education at the dawn of the Modern Age: it was pointing forward, and it actually served progress. But the kitchen Latin of the eighteenth century was a retarding factor conserving feudal ideals: one could neither express nor propagate the novel notions of western education in that language. Thus the pressing alternative arose whether to preserve Latin and feudal backwardness or to go forward. And if the latter was chosen, then what would be the language? German seemed suitable for the purpose but it was a foreign tongue; Hungarian seemed preferable, though it was underdeveloped. Dynastic interests during the period of the rationalist Enlightenment favoured the former, not refraining from the application of forcible methods (mainly during the period of Mary Theresa and Joseph II). But the progressive groups in Hungary, as opposed to the reactionary Latinists, chose the latter, more difficult road, not quite aware, perhaps, of the social and cultural consequences of their choice.

The achievement of national independence and democratic transformation of the society had been in store for the Hungarians of the time. The nobility, however, stuck in the feudal system of serfdom, feared a bourgeois transformation, although national independence was considered its most immediate concern. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, was weak, helpless,

and not Hungarian in either origin or language. For a combined solution of both tasks there was no suitable social layer in Hungary. The feudal nobility opposed the more enlightened ruling house on constitutional grounds; it was precisely for that reason that the slowly enfolding bourgeois strata of the population were in opposition to the nobility. In the last third of the century an increasing number of attempts were made — primarily in the form of intellectual movements — to introduce the ideas of French Enlightenment and then those of the revolution into Hungary. Literature received a strong impetus, and language was regarded as a major problem. The advocates of the national idiom fought for the prevalence of Hungarian in two senses: on the one hand, they wanted to make it the official language as opposed to Latin, which was a dead language, and German, which was a foreign tongue; but on the other hand, they wanted it to prevail over the minorities throughout the whole country. Both endeavours were doomed to failure. The political leaders of these premature revolutionary organizations — among others Ignác Martinovics — were executed or imprisoned. Their movement could not acquire a wide enough basis among the masses of the population, therefore it strove for the overthrowing of the Hapsburg regime as an isolated conspiracy.

1. The first stage of the new period, usually dated from 1772 to 1795, was of great importance to the Hungarian standard. The fact that the number of both authors and readers was considerably increased was in itself very important. It was also favourable to the national aspirations that the literary trends, for the most part, represented progressive and national ideals. By that time, one of the four regional standards discussed above, viz. the southern, had given up all claims to becoming a real standard and fell back to the status of a regional dialect. The western, northeastern, as well as the Transylvanian regional standards maintained their earlier positions, but they approximated one another in character. As regards sphere of scope, the northeastern proved to be most vigorous: with the disappearance of the southern regional standard it extended to the central areas of the country, that is to say, it became potentially central on account of its geographical spread. What is more, this norm, northeastern originally in scope, made quick strides in the subsequent decades to control the educational affairs of the other regions as well.

In the second half of the eighteenth century (from 1751 to 1800) the literary products of Transylvanian authors had most consistently preserved their idiomatic peculiarities. The ratio of those following the central norm was around eleven per cent in contemporary Transylvania. The rest of them read in the regional norm, or show a tendency to blend the regional with the central one. The situation is different as regards literary products of the western part, where the share of markedly regional writings decreased from 46 per cent to 9 per cent in the period examined. A contamination of regional and central norms is seen in ca 50 per cent of the works; while the representatives of the central standard attained 40 per cent as opposed to a start from 8 per cent. Most promising is the picture in the territories of the central norm, originating from the northeastern parts and conquering

the middle regions of the country. In the regions concerned, the ratio of works marked by an absolute provincial usage decreased from 36 per cent to 9 per cent; that of the works showing a mixture of provincial and standard language decreased from 57 per cent to 23 per cent; the share of the followers of the central norm increased, accordingly, from 7 to 68 per cent in the treated period.

If the index number 1 is used consistently for denoting the representatives of the central norm, 2 for those blending the central with provincial norms, and 3 for purely regional ones, the provinciality indices of the different regions can be obtained from the means of products. The values show the following picture: Transylvania = 2·36; Western Hungary = 1·85; Central Hungary = 1·52. That is, Transylvania shows the highest degree of provincial separation and the central parts are most developed. It is interesting enough that the endeavours toward standardization are not led by literature even in this stage. The national provinciality index for literature is 1·91, while that of other printed works is 1·78. The ratio remains, by and large, the same if the values are broken down to the regional relations.

It should not be left out of consideration that the northeastern norm extending to the central regions was regional, i.e. one of the three norms, as regards its status, although it had already occupied a geographically central position. It was of central validity also in character, since it was a rival to no regional but merely to provincial forms in its own sphere of scope. What is more, it was spreading as a central norm in the territories of the other two regional standards: anyone wishing to find a super-territorial norm had to choose this one as the most suitable form both territorially and as regards character.

Of course, the language had to increase its vocabulary and to refine its stylistic means, if it wished to cope with modern tasks of propagating science and up-to-date journalism (nonliterary printed works stood above 50 per cent in the period) or if it wished to supply the authors with adequate means of expression in the field of literature proper (whether genuine or translated) which also was engaged in disseminating the progressive ideas of the time. At that time Kazinczy's proclaimed programme to create a "refined style" was already in the air. This programme arose from the recognition of the fact that the new thoughts and more advanced culture are conveyed by language. And Hungarian in the first years of the upswing was not sufficiently developed for the task. (N.B., the language of education was not Hungarian in earlier times.) In this manner, science, journalism and literature, as well as the more practical walks of life, all postulated that language and style should be reformed. A polished mother tongue was wanted for the propagation of erudition in Hungarian. Consequently, it ought to be urbanized, occidentalized. Thus the period of upswing preceding 1795 was of necessity the initial stage of Hungarian language reform as well.

2. Following the fervent years of the first upswing, the second stage of of the new period, from 1795 to 1825, started in a frozen, inert political atmosphere. The landed nobility was frightened by the prospects of bour-

geois development and mainly by the results of a possible radical transformation as exemplified in France. Thus adherence to the feudal order prevailed among them. The economic situation was somewhat relieved, owing to the agricultural boom of the Napoleonic wars, a circumstance which neutralized the nobility in respect to the dynasty for almost two decades; meanwhile all bourgeois aspirations were silenced by the Austrian oppression. But the cause of the language reform was not dropped altogether. On the contrary, after a very short period of quiet, there followed towering new waves. Very fierce fights ensued. Both the feudal and the bourgeois classes of a politically paralyzed nation considered matters connected with language among their chief concerns: the former thought to find an outlet for their national endeavours, the latter for their ambitions envisaging an urbanized, western form of life. The only territory where emotions and slogans remained active was that of language. The cause of the national idiom became a central problem in Hungary. Literary correspondence and later periodicals influenced the general opinion in a way that, with the regional norms equalized, the central form was finally successful in attaining the distinction of a national norm. In this capacity it could then develop into an exclusive main type covering the whole body of the nation: into a standard in the real sense of the word.

The first wave of the language reform can be characterized by attempts at creating a Hungarian vocabulary for scientific and technical terms, as well as a Hungarian terminology for public life. Subsequently, still at the end of the eighteenth century, a literary revival started in whose train the authors, imitating western examples by translating them or adopting their themes, did their best in order to render language and style flexible enough for the task. Emerging elementary-school education in Hungarian was of no less consequence; a varied terminology in topical themes but unambiguous and pregnant in meaning and form was badly needed, especially in the lower grades of education. An agent of innovation was the first Hungarian newspaper in which the whole globe had to be surveyed in a language accessible to all: that is to say, the penmen had as their daily task finding words and phrases for such terms as had never before been expressed in Hungarian and they had to write on the most diverse themes in a manner familiar to every corner of the country.

As a matter of course, not everybody approved of the innovations and controversies multiplied. The camp of zealous — though sometimes really exaggerating — neologists provoked attacks from the party of the orthodox purists who were threatened at seeing legions of heady and inconsiderate innovations crop up in the fields of language. As early as 1786 a debate started as to when and how new words could and should be created in the language. A few years later a grammar book was produced by a team of co-workers in Debrecen. This grammar aimed at completeness in summarizing the established norms, but at the same time it wished to demonstrate that the system of language was a thing complete and perfect, not to be bothered by forcible innovations. Parallel with that, epistles and pamphlets were published in periodicals whose number was steadily increasing. Then the *Mondolat*, a pamphlet in book form, appeared which not only ridiculed

the exaggerations of the language reform, but also made a laughingstock of the entire movement, going so far as to reject the idea of a language reform.

But theory and practice were two different things. Those who were engaged in Hungarianizing the language of science, public life, legislation and state administration were well aware of the fact that no advance could be made in their special fields of activity without enlarging the stock of terms related to them. Looking at things from a different angle, from that of literature, Ferenc Kazinczy felt the same. Just as the editor of *Magyar Kurir*, when conducting a competition in 1804 with a view to assessing the results achieved until then by the reform movement, as well as to improving its methods. — Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, the outstanding poet of the period, to whom the standard is indebted because he first developed a literary language from the popular vernacular, summed up his views on the relation between language reform and cultural progress like this: "He who cannot suffer the new words must learn how to do without the new ideas as well."

Having been released from his imprisonment by the Austrians (lasting for six and a half years), in 1808, Ferenc Kazinczy, the leader of the reform, rejoined the movement. From that time on, all of his letters, translations, introductory essays, prefaces, studies, as also his epigrams and criticisms, contained theoretical points and practical suggestions in support of the language reform. However, at the same time he was also eager to delimit the scope of the movement: he fought extremist neologists just as he opposed retrograde orthodox purists. Giving and receiving blows, that energetic man succeeded in developing his home (situated in the northeast of the country) into the centre of the movement. His vast correspondence fills twenty-two large volumes. After a struggle lasting over a decade he crowned his work by publishing the famous article *Orthologus és neologus; nálunk és más nemzeteknél* (The ortodox purists and the neologists in Hungary and elsewhere) which marked the ending of the campaign in 1819: the victory of the centre over the extremes. That of the centralists, namely, who were soon to occupy their post in the true sense of the word, forming a literary centre in Pest-Buda, the future capital of the country, where the young authors furthered the work of the aged master.

3. We may state on sufficient ground that the movement of the language reform was a revolution in the history of the Hungarian tongue. A revolution in a sense that it made up for centuries' long stagnation by one decisive jerk. But also in a sense that it temporarily stopped the course of legal development in order to be able to establish, after the close of the period, a synthesis of what had remained sound from the old and what had proved to be useful of the new. The society of the age was destined to perform this revolutionary transformation. It could hardly have been thought of, let alone completed, in any other period, either before or after, that a few decades' time should give birth to some ten thousand new words capable of establishing themselves in the life of the language. It is really a phenomenon rarely paralleled elsewhere that a language should grow up, as if by a sudden leap, from the

state of utter backwardness to a level at which it could serve as an adequate vehicle of secular culture.

Of course, not even revolutions can create something new out of nothing. The methods by which new words were shaped had had their antecedents; only they did not follow the old bed, but sometimes transgressed the embankments. Most typical procedures were:

(a) Words existing in other layers were transferred into the standard; viz. by reviving obsolete words in either original or modified meaning (e.g. *év* 'year', *dísz* 'ornament', *agy* 'cranium → cerebrum', *pihen* 'breathe → rest'); dialect words were admitted in the standard (e.g. *falánk* 'greedy', *hullám* 'wave'); proper names were made into common ones (e.g. *Gyarmat* > *gyarmat* 'colony', *Örs* > *örs* 'outpost', these having been community names originating from names of tribes, i.e. anthroponyms (cf. p. 247 in the present volume); sometimes foreign words were arbitrarily given Hungarianized forms (e.g. *bálna* < balaena, *pillér* < pilier).

(b) A great number of new words were formed by means of adding formative suffixes. This way of recovering new words used to be widely current, it was regarded as a traditional and therefore regular procedure: new word was formed by complementing it with an existing suffix. Thus, during this period the productivity of suffixes which had fossilized in the course of time increased. What is more, in the heat of the zealous innovation some end morphemes of identical forms were not infrequently "recognized" as suffixes, and by the aid of such non-existing suffixes further words were formed, not to speak of the "roots" that were obtained by separating the alleged suffixes from them. In this manner words like *anyag* 'material' and *üteg* 'battery' came into existence, based upon the false assumption of a suffix *-ag-eg*, by analogy with such originally non-suffixed words as *agyag* 'clay', *nyereg* 'saddle'. The scope of some existing suffixes was further expanded; they were combined with root types with which they could originally not have been combined. Namely, new lexemes were formed from pronouns, postpositions, and verbal prefixes; even words with suffixes were promoted to the rank of a root morpheme, which procedure had no tradition to look back upon (e.g. *azon-os* 'identical', *helyett-es* 'substitute', *föl-ény* 'advantage, fore'; *szembe-sít* 'confront', *haláltól-i* (*félelem*) '(fear) of death').

(c) Several new words were obtained in the class of compounds. This method of combining words had a long past to rely on; but it rose to unjustified prevalence during the period of the language reform and also produced, mainly on the German models, forms unknown before. Compounds with unsuffixed determinatives (i.e. where the relation of word-elements was expressed by zero suffix) represented by a few examples in earlier times, had pullulated (e.g. *vérszegény* 'anaemic', *vízbő* 'rich in water', *örömteljes* 'joyful'). — A somewhat similar procedure was the contraction resulting in combinations of mutilated roots (e.g. *csőr* < *cső* + *orr* 'beak', *könnyelmű* < *könnyű* + *elméjű* 'reckless').

(d) The method of back-formation was very active: obscured, no longer productive, or perhaps never existing roots were inferred from extant formations; as if the original had been either a suffixed or a compound form.

Words thus obtained were used either independently, i.e. as self-contained words (e.g. *pír* < *piros, pirul* 'redness', viz. 'red, redden'; *irány* < *irányoz, irányít* 'direction' viz. 'to direct'; *tan* < *tanul, tanít* 'doctrine' viz. 'learn, teach'; *zene* < *zenebona* 'music', viz. 'noise, hurly-burly', *kelet* < *napkelet* 'east'); but they may have been used also as anterior members of compounds (e.g. *fekhely* 'site', *fek-* being a mutilated stem of the verb *fekszik*); or they provided grounds for further formation (e.g. *eml-ény* 'reminiscence', where the root is a backformation of the verb *emlékezik* 'remember').

(e) Other ways of mutilating and abbreviating words were also resorted to in order to avoid the use of clumsy and lengthy words. Procedures of this kind had been exemplified in earlier periods of language history; but the period under discussion made a cult of mutilated words (e.g. *diadal* < *diadalom* 'victory', *cég* < *cégér* 'firm' viz. 'name-plate, inn-sign', *remény* < *reménység* 'hope'; or: *állam* < *álladalom* 'state', *növény* < *növevény* 'plant').

Those observing this development from the point of view of grammar and not from that of practical needs were frightened and horrified. Nevertheless, the new elements did not become dangerous in any way. Many of them were left in isolation as formations permitting no analysis; others again appeared in so large quantities as to offer a basis for new rules. Language is a conventional means of communication. Its elements, to which we are accustomed because they are inherited are neither good nor bad but are simply accepted as existing. The period got used to them amazingly soon (including irregular and also abnormal forms) since they were badly needed in order to enable the standard, which formally had been ready to function, to grow up in content to cope with the task. Otherwise it could not be an adequate means of expression for modern erudition.

In the 1820s this language form, which was refreshed in content and enlarged in vocabulary, fully established its rights — owing to the young authors gathering in Pest — in the centre of Hungarian culture, literary and otherwise. It was here that Mihály Vörösmarty and Gergely Czuczor soared high from under the sheltering wings of Károly Kisfaludy, who strived to organize a literary centre — and a language form — urban in character and nation-wide in validity, i.e., modern in all respects. They were joined by Ferenc Kölcsey who had started his career somewhat earlier but sank in deep silence for a while. The reformed language was no problem for them, since they were brought up in it, they lived — as it were — in it and by it. But they were not only benefited by the new language: they also contributed to its achievements as happy promoters and influential agents of both literary and social developments.

The process underlined above had actually repeated the historical accident referred to several times in the foregoing. György Bessenyei whose name is connected with the beginnings of the Hungarian Enlightenment, as well as Ferenc Kazinczy, the leader and spiritual father of the language reform, and many other considerable figures of the age, originated from the northeastern areas. Consequently, they were all united in stabilizing the northeastern form — which had already occupied the central geographical regions and was best equalized — in its position as a standard. It is true

that at that period Kazinczy was battling with the adherents of the Debrecen circle, precisely on account of the somewhat conservative grammar edited in that Great-Plain metropolis. A different kind of war developed in relation to the Transdanubian authors. While in the case of Debrecen it was not the fundamental principles but the details of the standard that gave food for discussions, Transdanubia opposed the central norm as a standard aspirant. Nevertheless, the western regional norm finally surrendered its valuable language elements to the emerging central one while it itself soon declined into provinciality.

When therefore, at the close of the developmental period just discussed, the literary centre and the pertaining standard, as developed and crystallized in the northeastern soil, transferred its seat to the new centre of the country, i.e. to Pest, — it was just a natural consequence of earlier growth, a crowning of the trend formerly marked by the townsnames Kassa—Sárospatak—Debrecen.

4. The third stage of the new period (from 1825 to 1920) still had to face very difficult tasks. Namely, the standard, uniform already in character and hegemonic in position, waited to be refined in details and finally established in its function as an exclusive norm above all regional forms. Another duty in store for it — and no less consequential than the former — was to shape a spoken variety of standard that had not been known in any period of earlier development.

However strange it may seem, we have to suspect a further historical accident in connection with the development of the spoken standard. It may be supposed that it is not only the authority of that standard, which was conceived and nurtured in the northeastern parts and moved to the spiritual-literary-economic-political centre when time was ripened, that was exclusively responsible for this process. Certain circumstances allow for consideration of other reasons.

Incomplete and actually unsatisfactory, although sufficiently delimitable language geographical data seem to indicate that the neighbourhood of Pest (including a good part of County Fejér, roughly as far as to Székesfehérvár) had had a kind of local dialect which resembled the form originating from the northeast in more than one respect. It may be well conceived that this micro-region which was relatively uniformly equalized and exempt from all extremes might owe its dialect feature to the central position it occupied, that is to say that it resulted from a sort of contamination of various forms since it is situated at the juncture of four major dialect areas. However, one may also assume that this micro-region (which belonged to the central tribe of the Hungarians in the Conquest period, and was the place of settlement of the Megyer tribe) had preserved a kind of more central, more evenly developed language condition from very early times.

Relevant research being at its initial stage as yet, no more than working hypotheses can be taken into account. One thing, however, seems to be certain: the northeastern variety which was transferred as standard to the central parts was not inconsistent in its character with the dialect form prevailing in the broader neighbourhood of Pest. The norm was most readily

accepted and propagated precisely by the authors and literary men of Pest, some of them having been connected to its vicinity either by birth or by university studies, or otherwise. And if departure is made from another point, the existing difference between the written and spoken forms of the standard — mainly prevailing to the turn of the last century — can only partially be accounted for by the natural divergence of spoken from written language, or by some equalization of the regional features. In other respects it can be explained by the divergence that does exist between the written form of the northeastern standard, on the one hand, and the spoken form of the dialect in the Pest region. We may conclude, therefore, that the spoken central (Pest) variety may have found its basis in, or at least is greatly indebted to, this dialectal micro-region.

The developmental stage just characterized was not a smooth one either. Its initial years were marked by an upswing of Hungarian political-economic-social life, owing to the effective reforms introduced, which the Hapsburgian circles willy-nilly had to tolerate. A great cultural flourish ensued that had a favourable influence on the development of the standard as well. In that particular stage of Hungarian history, called the Reform Age, the future capital, contracted and amalgamated from partially German-speaking little cities, was Hungarianized in language. Called first Pest-Buda, then Budapest, the new capital gave birth to journalism, the publishing of books and periodicals, and Hungarian theatres. It also was the scene where science, governmental administration, public life and schools gradually yielded to Hungarian.

The anti-Hapsburg war of independence and the ensuing defeat, however, led to open and severe oppression on the part of the Hapsburg regime which lasted for nearly two decades. The Compromise of 1867 was politically and socially nothing more than a transaction between the Austrian and the Hungarian ruling classes. Nevertheless, it gave the national idiom and culture certain possibilities for more independence. Literature, fully centralized and exclusively Hungarian in language by that time, was characterized by the interdependence of authors and the reading public and thus ensured the satisfactory development of the standard. In the field of poetry, Sándor Petőfi and János Arany were successful in creating a state of balance between literary usage and the common language, the beginnings of which go back to the time of Gergely Czuczor. In the field of prose fiction, the early realist József Eötvös and later Mór Jókai (whose works bear traces of popular realism in spite of all his romantic predilections) are very important from the viewpoint of the interaction of literature and life. Kazinczy could take steps in the direction of a literary language and style only by deviating from the spoken forms, i.e. the common language; while Petőfi, Arany, and Jókai advanced Hungarian to general European cultural ideals by making recurrence to everyday Hungarian usage.

In this manner, by the early twentieth century, Hungarian spiritual life approximated both in content and language the general European level whose recognized vehicle was the standard, fully developed and supremely adequate to the task. Regional influences were to be felt in the field of literature, where the infiltrating dialect elements presented themselves as

stylistic figures, or means of motivation, and not as competitive ones in regard to the established normative elements. Also the spoken form of the standard achieved a nation-wide authority, owing to the schools becoming Hungarian in language and the concomitant spread of general education. In the market towns and other provincial places, however, it could not yet fight the regional — though not purely dialectal — forms of speech.

Development was greatly promoted by an enfolding linguistic scholarship and conscious efforts to achieve and maintain correctness of usage. The next step to take following the revolutionary sweep of the language reform — often naive in methods and questionable in practical results — was to re-establish the validity of rules and to codify the effective new norms. In consequence, the style that had been considerably deviated — owing to the school of Kazinczy in pursuit of a Europeanized image of language — from the living usage, found its way back to the normal channels, creating a new synthesis between life and language. It is mainly thanks to the activity of contemporary authors, and partly to the campaigns of the purists, that realism, which replaced earlier romantic trends in literature, was successful in bridging the gap between the written and the spoken forms of the standard. (In this respect the achievements of the so-called popular school of authors, and those of the "urban" bloc, of the inter war period would offer promising topics for linguistic examinations.) The spoken variant of the common language which mainly played the role of receptor in the early stage of the modern period was gradually reacting to the written form. Although perhaps it initially originated from other sources (primarily from the micro-dialect region of the Pest—Székesfehérvár area) it increasingly occupied its position, in result of this interaction, as a spoken variant of the national norm.

5. The fourth stage of the period (from 1920 to 1948) is not essentially different from the previous one, although two political-historical changes have involved rather considerable alterations in the developmental conditions of the standard. First, in 1920 Hungary was definitively separated from the bondages of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, in consequence of which German lost its preponderating influence within the boundaries of the country, giving way to Hungarian, fully establishing its rights in national life. Thus further tasks arose resulting in no qualitative changes but expansion of scope. Secondly, the peace treaties concluded after World War I had an effect just in the reverse inasmuch as considerable numbers of Hungarian-speaking population went over — besides the minorities — to the successor states (some four million inhabitants have Hungarian as mother tongue in the separated territories; Transylvania as well as the adjacent areas in the north and south have considerable Hungarian populations).

Both of these changes made their influence felt in an increased linguistic concentration in post-war Hungary. The hegemony of Hungarian standard was reinforced in the smaller country which was no longer exposed to direct foreign influence. But the danger that the usage of the Hungarian blocs in the separated areas would deviate from that standard, developing regional main types of their own also arose. Not a single one, of course, but three

at least; the three most populous blocs of Hungarian minorities (those in Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia) were likely to follow different paths of development. The danger of this was only aggravated by contemporary political affairs. Hungarian policy in home affairs was more reactionary in the inter-war period than in any of the neighbouring states; at the same time, Hungarian policy in foreign affairs was characterized by aggressive, revisionist tendencies. These circumstances provide explanation for the fact that the mentioned states — and to a certain degree also their Hungarian populations — were cautiously drawing away from a possible mutual understanding. In this manner, certain signs of linguistic differentiation became manifest. What could be taken for attempts at uniformity of usage were not promising at all. Previous to and during World War II a good part of the Hungarian minorities were temporarily annexed to Hungary. But the span of time was too short and vexed to be of any consequence: it did not involve any important moment for their linguistic development.

6. Considering all that has been said so far it seems worth while casting a glance at a point which we have just touched upon above, namely at the evolutional trend of what might be called the deliberate control of the language. We mean here the process of normalization in spelling, usage, and other related fields of the language, as well as the role of science therein.

The spelling systems of Catholics and Protestants so clearly crystallized by the early eighteenth century were disturbed in this period; their comparative closedness, and mainly their dependence upon denominational ties and affinities, disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. The differences did not altogether vanish, they just became matters of personal predilection; anyone could have his personal choice in them, independent of his religious conviction. Although survivals of the denominational practice occurred as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century (mainly in the opposition of the etymological *látja* and the phonetic *láttya* types). Perhaps also a kind of regional divergence started to be settled in the period: Transdanubia (chiefly Catholic in traditions) seemed to prefer the phonetic spelling, and the Trans-Tisza region (mainly Protestant) the etymological one.

But statistical results are rather indicative of a practice of free choice coming to prevail. Of the topically examined 40 authors (19 Protestants and 21 Catholics) from the year 1772 to 1832, 70 per cent follow the etymological, 30 per cent the phonetic way of spelling. In terms of age of life, the mean of the etymologists is 29·3 years, while that of the phoneticians 41·6 years. This also shows the trend of development; and the picture is not much different within the denominations concerned. And so does their regional differentiation: in the Trans-Tisza Region the phonetic trend is represented by 35 per cent, while their ratio is hardly more than 20 per cent in Transdanubia. The case is similar with the other orthographical characteristics. Selection between them is no longer dependent on the region, and even less so on religion: they are questions of personal discretion. Obviously, it is not incidental that in the "battle of *y* and *j*" (i.e. in the controversies about the forms *bánnya* and *bánja*) both of the parties, even the etymologists, were lead by Catholic monks.

It was after fierce debates, quarrels, propaganda campaigns and expectations that the *Magyar Tudós Társaság* (Hungarian Learned Society), which later turned into the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, published a small booklet of Spelling Rules for domestic use in 1832. This systematically elaborated collection of rules surveyed the whole field of tradition, selecting what seemed most appropriate and most effective from the point of view of a uniform system. Once it was published, all debates settled. The collection of rules was accepted by the general public, and there was no more problem about Hungarian spelling — until the end of the century, when a group of dissenters broke the consensus by publishing an essentially progressive "school spelling" book complemented by a more comprehensive dictionary for printing presses. At first the Academy stiffly opposed these timely modifications. Debates continued from the turn of the century until 1922, when the modifications were finally acknowledged by the Academy of Sciences and consensus was restored.

A similar part was played by the Hungarian Learned Society in the normalization of the grammatical system and of the vocabulary. A number of grammars written by individuals who disagreed with each other on various points was followed in 1844 by a work *A magyar nyelv rendszere* (The system of the Hungarian language) which provided the basis of all school grammars and practical handbooks of grammar for a considerable time. The stock of words was codified by the pocket Hungarian—German dictionary of the Learned Society. This dictionary published in 1838 was rather cautious in its selection, omitting many products of the language reform. All three works mentioned were patronized by the pre-eminent poet of the age, Mihály Vörösmarty, who was not only the chief contributor but also the spiritual father of these fundamental publications. In the field of vocabulary, another very important work was issued in the early sixties: *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (An Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language). This dictionary consisting of six bulky volumes was also edited by a poet, and a member of the Academy, Gergely Czuczor, who devoted much care to compiling the material for it.

Following this fruitful period, however, the Academy had segregated from the living practice and did not return to it until the end of the main period under discussion, i.e. until 1948. It made temporary efforts to keep spelling within barriers but it took much less care in the tending of the other fields of language and usage. Thus the publication of grammars and dictionaries was left to the outsiders, who often used the opportunity for grossly commercial purposes. At the same time, the care for the language culture had turned into a business of amateur purism and not infrequently a hunting ground for chauvinistic tendencies. This degeneration can be explained, to a certain degree, as an endeavour to counterbalance the still prevailing Germanic influence, which, however, is by no means an excuse for it.

7. Looking back at this period of not quite two centuries we may establish that it was decisive for the fate of Hungarian standard. One of the regional form varieties emerged, absorbing the most serviceable elements of the others, and obtained the exalted position of an all-prevailing standard with

its firmly established formal elements. With developing culture and national life becoming Hungarian in language, it gradually enfolded its potentialities in regard to the content elements as well: thus it was fit for covering the entire field of national culture. Doubtlessly, it exceeded all other internal form varieties, and developed into a recognized and adequate main type of the language. In this course of evolution, it was greatly supported by the more and more explicit activity of experts regulating and normalizing its function. It is similarly indebted to the continually expanding layers of educated people who had actively contributed to the formation of the language.

But in spite of all its unquestionable results, the lengthy period is characterized from the beginning to the end by the circumstance that the standard developed and reinforced in it was rather restricted in scope. It could permeate the educated classes only, affecting at most the metropolitan layers of the lower populace. Since there existed an antagonism between urban and rural population — especially sharp from the turn of the century to the end of World War II — wide masses were left intact outside its sphere of scope. These did not regard urban culture, and the corresponding language conditions, as an ideal, as compared with their own.

All this meant that the standard secured a monopoly position — having no equal to rival it — but it had not yet received the status of absolute authority, because it failed to become a language ideal for all. What is even more important, there arose a view according to which the popular idiom (that spoken by the peasantry) was the original, the organically developed, the one that was not spoiled; and in contrast, the standard (especially the spoken common language) as an urban development was secondary, artificial and a spoiled form. This false notion had some morsel of truth at its depth. It should be remembered in this connection that the leading circles of state administration, as well as the official representatives of spiritual life, were really living in marked separation from the broader masses of population; they apparently segregated not only in their spheres of interests and in their sentiments, but also in their use of language. There are many signs to indicate that the adoption of higher education and the mastery of concomitant polished style meant a kind of intrapossessory state for a ruling class and for the educated people standing in its service. Indeed, language was considered a monopoly which was not used by them as a means of promoting the general education of the masses, but as a means of oppression. The language itself was least responsible for it.

THE PRESENT-DAY HUNGARIAN STANDARD

The Actual Situation of the Standard

The middle of the twentieth century is characterized by changes in the life of the Hungarian society which have involved novel conditions for the development of the language and especially of that of the standard. The post-war democratic transformation swept away the anti-popular classes of

the former regime in consequence of their deplorable part in the Second World War. An expansion of general education of both school children and adults has opened wide the gates of culture, and a democratic transformation of public life made it possible for such masses of population to join in the currents of education which had been kept apart from them in earlier times.

The period witnessed the electrification of villages, the dissemination of the radio, the rapid evolution of the television technique, and the establishment of a highly effective network of libraries. Viewed from the angle of public life, this period is noticeable for the advance of a new strata of leaders and an intelligentsia originating from the working people. The former layers of "learned" and "uneducated" population were mingled in an indiscernible way. School children and grandchildren affect more and more the older generations. The earlier separation of rural and urban settlements, and their sometimes antagonistic views of each other, have faded in time and are on the way to final extinction, owing to nation-wide industrialization which reaches practically every region of the country. This process is seconded by the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture and by an expansion of the system of communication.

1. All this involved, as a matter of course, a kind of equalization between the standard as the main type of national idiom and a vehicle of culture, on the one hand, and the remaining subordinate partial types, on the other. This process is by no means a one-sided one, as can be easily understood from the polarized antecedents. Doubtlessy, the basic tendency consists in the expansion of the standard; although not in an absolute and unilateral sense, but rather by an approximation of the other varieties. This approximation, naturally, has not much to do with the "formal" elements: it would be of no use to upset an already evolved and reinforced system. But it is of more consequence for the other side, that of the content. The former differentiation that prevailed in the fields of vocabulary, phraseology and construction, i.e., in the different usage-forms of the "learned" and the "uneducated" is not so obvious any more. On the one hand, the broad masses are on the advance — their sphere of knowledge and their way of thinking being expanded and transformed — to approach the standard usage; but on the other hand, the standard also learns from the other layers, incorporating more and more practical elements and life-like solutions.

This progress of general education has an interesting — edifying and enriching — effect on the whole of the standard, mainly on the content side. Following the expansion of social, economic, and technical sciences, the sets of terms and notions, as well as the system of thoughts and phrases, of these branches of knowledge, which used to be of restricted group-interest, are penetrating the broader public mind. They are increasingly becoming, so to speak, organic parts of the average education, the everyday life of the man-in-the-street. Since this material is of necessity exact in character and fixed in terminology, the influence of its spread is certainly to be felt on the complete system of the standard. One who learns how to

use these words and phrases in an exact way, and how to distinguish between the various shades of meanings and expression forms, will surely be impressed, sooner or later, by the importance of being exact and refined in language. The whole of his mental activity will be imbued by a recognition that our notions must be well delimited and properly expressed.

It goes without saying that this type of scholarly attitude gaining ground in the practical walks of life is not altogether free of malapropisms and other dangers, mainly apparent in a sort of superfluous, hair-splitting overprecision of the common style. But it is a children's disease, it can be soon healed, and is nothing as opposed to the vast profit on the other side.

It seems that the social movements outlined above have resulted in a further qualitative change of Hungarian standard. From the middle of the twentieth century on it follows a path on which it may develop from the status of the main form into a sole and exclusive form of the national idiom. This may happen indeed, if not in the immediate, neither in the distant future. The two decades that have passed since the beginning of the present period of alarming changes have supplied us with sufficient evidence to suppose this. For example, neither the separation nor the integrity of the Hungarian dialects was seriously endangered by the spreading standard in the first part of the twentieth century, because it had exerted only a limited effect on them, although it had a distinguished position above them. In recent days, however, Hungarian dialects have reached a stage of rapid dissolution, owing to the circumstances detailed above. Young people scattered in every direction from their abodes in the country tend to speak the common language, even though they return to their place of birth. The older generation that stayed back will become a "bilingual" sort of people, which has two idioms; we might even say, double reflexes. The majority of these not only know — and acknowledge — the standard form, but also use it. What is more, depending on the environment and the speaking partner, they can change over from the traditional dialect used in the family to the standard form which is more current in official places.

As regards the social prestige of a dialect — and in general, of any form outside standard — fairly revealing is the manner — though unconscientiously perhaps — in which dialect and other sub-standard forms are used by literature. Even as late as the middle of the twentieth century it was regarded as a sort of unsophisticated realism if peasant or suburban characters of some literary work were made to talk a dialect or peripheral form of some rural or slums variety. These language peculiarities were generally required paraphernalia of characterization which the authors could freely resort to.

In sharp contradistinction to this, we may observe in literary works in the last decade and a half that the standard is somehow more often put in the mouths of peasant and worker characters because it seems to be a more natural form of speech for them. What happened to the dialect and suburban elements? They have certainly survived but they are attributed to characters who represent more backward, more conservative, and more underdeveloped social groups. We cannot say that this revaluation reflects the full reality; but it certainly points in the direction of the real course of

development which is only intensified by a diminished territory of the country, by a briskness of social and spiritual motions, and by a quickening rate of development.

2. The social restratification may bring, sooner or later, to the point of final extinction all partial types outside the standard. It can preserve as much of their content elements as are necessary for the fullest possible enfolding of its own potentialities. Form variants for their own sake are not welcome by the standard; on the contrary, it tends to treat its own internal variants as subjects of continuous selection and omission. Hungarian dictionaries published recently, whether explanatory or orthographical, contain equivalent form variants to a much lesser extent than did the earlier ones. This is not due to a change in lexicographical methods, but to a change in the language itself, of which dictionaries are but mirrors. The case is similar in connection with the variant stock of the grammatical means. The form variants that have no distinctive function are replaced here as well. But as regards the stock of words and phrases, as well as the forms of construction, a possibility of refreshing the stock by way of incorporation still exists; this primarily refers, of course, to the elements which have distinctive functions as lending new or additional shades of meaning to the elements concerned.

With the expansion of its scope, the standard grows increasingly stratified in its self-contained material. The style varieties are increasingly better crystallized and more distinctly delimited within the standard, not primarily in relation to literature, since it comprises the full life in its sphere of themes and language and consequently anything may go in it, but rather in each other's relation. A comparatively new, though definitively delimited layer is, for example, that of the "informative prose". It is rather impersonal not only because it is informative in character but also as regards its way of composition. It is typical of all newspaper communications, brochures, and of the everyday official contact. It also found its way into the spoken language, owing to the influence of broadcasting, television, and journalism.

A different layer is that of the disserting prose characteristic of essays, scholarly papers, and scientific books. Both of these layers deviate considerably in composition, construction pattern, etc. from the conversational style, i.e. from the spontaneous forms of speech. Of course, each style-form shows further differentiation within itself as well. The literary style, for example, can readily fraternize, depending on the subject and manner of representation, now with one and now with another of the mentioned subvarieties; it may be sometimes more informative in character than the informative prose or more conversational than the conversational style.

Integration and concomitant internal differentiation (that is, differentiation within the main type) are increasingly characteristic of the spoken variety of the standard, i.e. the common language. The scope of the main spoken type, which is perhaps, as expounded above, not quite of the same origin as the written main type, is gradually covering the entire field of national life. The modern means of newscasting and art (radio, television,

cinema, theatres, etc.) as well as the spread of general education and recent population movements, are equally instrumental in this process.

This progress explains something that could not be unequivocally explained in earlier times. Even in the first half of the twentieth century it would be rather difficult to ascertain whether the local regional varieties spoken as regional standards in provincial towns had been dialect variants of the central main type, or conversely, some standardized forms of the local dialect. As regards their origin, the latter assessment seems to be more acceptable. But in consideration of their present-day function, these provincial forms of the standard can only be interpreted as local variants of the universally accepted main type. The degree to which they are tinted with local features (which seem to be receding) may depend on many things. The differences between the regional standard (or rather: common) forms of speech — i.e. the regional divergences within the national standard — will perhaps survive for a long time, but we can observe even now that they are continually diminishing.

3. In this manner the standard has made an overall progress in every field of the country's life. This can be explained by the great social transformation which assisted and postulated it. Much more complicated is the present-day lingual development of those Hungarian-speaking groups of population which live outside the frontiers of the country, in the neighbouring states. The quickening rate of development has had its impact on these countries, as well as on the Hungarians living there. As a result, the portions of Hungarian population — mainly the major blocs in Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia — have developed into relatively independent units: national minorities, distinguished by special forms of culture and social life. Their particular culture is characterized by the fact that they have been separated from the centres of Hungarian national culture for about fifty years and have come into closer contact with those of the other nations they are living together with in their new countries.

This circumstance, as well as the altered living conditions, particularly influenced their internal development. Each minority group strives to evolve its own autochthonous form of existence. In this manner, the Hungarian minorities no longer maintain the relation of part against total in respect to Hungarian national culture; but neither are they simple language variants of the state-organizing nation's culture. They represent such basic units within universal human culture which, in their actual forms, are only characteristic of the given Hungarian minorities as relatively independent micro-societies.

As a matter of course, the political and economic separation of the minorities determined by the course of the historical events, and their particular cultural development, which is a consequence of their separation, must exert an influence on their lingual conditions. The scope of their mother tongue is more restricted than that within the national frontiers. They acquire their technical and social education in a language other than their own mother tongue, and they use a foreign language in official contacts. Consequently, a large number of their concepts, i.e. the terms expressing

these, is not built into their Hungarian sphere of notions, i.e. in their genuine stock of words. What is more, a certain level of their intellectual activity (in fact, only the highest level) is linked to a foreign linguistic system. Furthermore, standard Hungarian cannot influence them to the same extent as it can influence Hungarians who live within the boundaries of Hungary.

Thus, the minorities were exposed to the danger, during the first stage of their separate existence, that their language development would follow diverse paths, both in relation to each other and in respect to the central language area. Such a course would lead to a situation in which the standardization of their own narrower and less developed language would necessarily result in a variety which would resemble their local dialects more closely than the standard of the central areas. This would have been detrimental not only to the character but also to the developmental level of their own variant of the language. A certain regional or even provincial degeneration would have ensued in each of the separated language areas.

Fortunately, the Hungarian minorities are well aware of this danger and are doing their best to keep in step with the Hungarian standard. This situation is not particular to Hungarian. German is spoken in various countries and German minorities live in various countries. The same holds for English. The standard is common to both German and English speakers and its scope transcends the frontiers of national states without influencing the development or restricting or endangering the independence of another nation. One may go further and say that a language owned in common does not involve any risk for nations and national minorities in any part of the world. Its advantages are the more conspicuous: it multiplies for them the possibility of education in their mother tongue, and offers chances for solving certain tasks by means of united effort, for example those connected with the furtherance of the language.

Orthography and Cultivation of Language

It seems superfluous to introduce here the structure of standard Hungarian. The chapters treating the phonetics, vocabulary, grammatical system, etc. of Hungarian are primarily and mainly engaged in describing the standard. It cannot be otherwise. Anyone wishing to learn Hungarian has to get acquainted with the standard; and he who wants to draw an adequate picture of the Hungarian language has no other choice than to draw a picture of this.

1. It is perhaps the system of spelling that needs some explanation here. The actually prevailing system of spelling is — in all its essential features — identical with that elaborated and published by the Hungarian Learned Society in 1832. In the notation of sounds it is fully phonemic: each phoneme, each independent sound of speech is represented by an orthographic unit. Conversely, of course, each symbol (simple or combined)

corresponds to a particular sound of speech. It is a matter of common knowledge that the phonetic systems of spelling are based on the rule according to which "a symbol equals a sound", i.e. each sound must have its particular symbol and each symbol must correspond to a special sound value. If this principle is expanded in a way that "a group of symbols equals sound", with the stipulation that a group of symbols may comprise one single member, then the system of Hungarian phonemic notation is in accord also with this requirement.

The Hungarian system of notation of sounds has followed — as a result of earlier divergencies — a dual course of evolution. In the field of the vowels, the method of notation by means of simple symbols complemented with diacritics has come to prevail; the individual phonemes (e.g. *o—ö*, *u—ü*) are distinguished by these, as the duration of sounds are marked similarly by these (e.g. *o—ó*, *ö—ő*). The case is different with the consonants which are denoted by a combination of symbols, that is by the use of combined symbols with no diacritics added. This system holds its own when the individual phonemes are to be distinguished (e.g. *t—ty*, *s—sz*, *c—cs*) and when the duration of consonants is indicated (e.g. *t—tt*, *ty—tty*).

Regrettably missing from the Hungarian alphabet is the distinction between the closed (*ë*) and the open *e* sound varieties. They are distinguished in dialect text notations only. The spoken common language can make distinction between the two variants of this vowel; but since the system of spelling fails to offer a possibility for this distinction, it certainly promotes the fading away of the difference. In compensation, however, there is a surplus letter as opposed to the stock of living phonemes, namely the *ly* letter. It used to mark a separate sound (a palatal lateral). Tradition has preserved its symbol, although its pronunciation has become identical with that of the *j* phoneme.

The same phonemic principle prevails in the notation of morphemes and morpheme complexes. In this respect, however, the system of writing shows considerable deviation from the phonetic principle. But if the rule "symbol = sound" which has been modified to "group of symbols = sound" in the above description of the system of notation is further developed: "group of symbols = group of sounds" (where both the group of symbols and the group of sounds may comprise one single member), we are not carried far away from our basic principle. Therefore, for a person who has Hungarian as his mother tongue the Hungarian language contains no such words or morphemes whose orthographic representation would raise any problem as to their pronunciation. On the basis of the above-mentioned principle, for example, the written forms *tudja*, *bánja*, *vadság*, *kétség* unequivocally suggest pronunciation forms as *tuggya*, *bánnya*, *vaccság*, *kéccség* (i.e. *tuďďa*, *báňňa*, *vaččág*, *kéččég*), since in these types of morphemic combination the *dj*, *nj*, viz. *ds*, *ts* groups of symbols have, as a rule, the phonetic value *ďď*, *ňň*, viz. *čč*. This is why an erroneous belief arose that Hungarian has phonetic spelling whereas in fact it can be taken as such in an extended sense only. It is not the phonetic, but the phonemic principle that prevails in the system. And it is manifest in two principal forms: one follows the phonetic and the other the etymological way of notation.

The phonetic spelling is used when independent morphemes (roots and suffixes) are to be fixed in their basic forms. Accordingly, the root of the word meaning 'horse' has *ló* as its basic form, and is so written in complexes *ló-ban*, *ló-nak*, etc. because the morpheme is invariably pronounced as *ló*. But the root of the same word is written *lov-* when complemented with suffixes like *lov-ak*, *lov-at*, *lov-as*, because in these cases it is pronounced as *lov-*. The situation is similar with the suffixes. For example, the suffix *-val/-vel* 'with' is written with *a* in *ló-val*, but with *e* in *kő-vel*, following the pronunciation. Of course, the suffix forms are begun with *v* in these examples because they are so pronounced. But in forms like *ház-zal*, *bot-tal*, *sör-rel*, they have *z*, *t*, and *r* as initial letters, because the alternative forms of the suffix are pronounced accordingly.

As a matter of fact, the etymological way of spelling is nothing else than extension of the phonemic principle to morpheme complexes consisting of more than one element. Accordingly, we write *ad-hat* 'he can give' with *d* because *ad* is the root of the verb and *-hat* is the formative suffix (although it is pronounced as *athat*). Likewise, *bot-ja* is written for 'his stick' because *bot* is the root and *-ja* is the personal possessive suffix (although this complex is pronounced *boťťa*), and so on. All this is to say that Hungarian spelling approached from the side of sounds is phonemic in character, while it bears morphemic traits if viewed from the side of the morphemes. Actually this again brings the phonemic principle into relief since it involves that morphophonemic changes are indicated (i.e. the alternatives are discerned) while morphophonetic ones (assimilation and fusion) are not.

Highly interesting and rather intricate problems occur in Hungarian spelling when the rules of writing words together or separately are considered. They are intricate just on account of their being interesting: writing words together or separately is a means of rendering the proper sense. Of course, writing the words separately is regarded as a point of departure, while writing them in one word is always considered as a meaningful deviation from the general rule. A most important motive for writing words together is when the combination of words results in a lexically constructed, i.e. morphologically unmarked, compound. In the syntactic arrangement, objective and adverbial relations are usually expressed by means of suffixes: "sör*t* ivó" = 'beer drinking', "víz*ben* bő" 'rich in water'; and similarly "az asztal fiók*ja*" 'the drawer of the table', in possessive construction. The same notions can be expressed in lexically constructed forms: *sörivó*, *vízbő*; *asztalfiók*; in these cases the syntactic relations are not specially indicated, i.e. they have zero marks. Another important reason for writing words together is represented by the instances of compounds derived from semantic changes. Morphologically, these compounds are always syntactic constructions, although their semantic behaviour is different from the syntactic patterns. For example: *földön futó* (*bogár*) '(beetle) running on the earth', but: *földönfutó* 'an exile'; *a barát füle* 'the friar's ear', but: *barátfüle* 'a kind of paste'; *kis asszony* 'a little woman', but: *kisasszony* 'Miss'. Furthermore, there are typically anterior and posterior members in the compounds. A typically anterior member is the verbal affix (e.g. *felhív*, *visszatér*, *agyonüt*); typical posterior members are certain elements which have developed into

a kind of formative suffix (e.g. *ablakszerű* 'something like a window', *cipőféleség* 'a variety of shoes'; *adómentesség* 'tax exemption'). Finally there are a good number of types where the sticking together of the words has no other explanation save practice, custom and tradition.

2. As has been shown, the standard Hungarian has been fairly developed, elaborated and adequately codified in every one of its partial fields. This is a result of a long course of development. But it is not merely a product of some spontaneous evolution, but also the outcome of the assiduous work of many generations. Let us cast a glance at this aspect of things as well.

Not counting one or two retrograde periods, Hungarian linguistics has always regarded the promotion of the language-culture of the broad masses as its main task. It is its declared objective to serve secular education today as well. The past twenty years of the latest period of evolution have brought more results than had the first five decades of this century. This is mainly due to the work conducted by a zealous team of researchers at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These two decades produced a modern explanatory dictionary of the Hungarian language in seven volumes and a detailed descriptive grammar in two volumes. The traditional rules of spelling have been brought up to date and a comprehensive manual of vocabulary has been prepared with a view to clarifying the practical problems of spelling. A handbook to serve as a guide for those who are engaged in the propagation of language culture and correct usage is also in preparation. Furthermore, a manual of pronunciation is to appear in the near future; it is a first attempt at codifying the rules of spoken standard Hungarian.

However, attention is not exclusively concentrated on language and the formation of the idiomatic stock. Linguists are equally concerned with everyday usage and with those who use the language. To refine their language culture, to widen their sphere of knowledge, and to edify their conscience belong among the primary targets of philologists in Hungary. Never losing sight of the general reading public, they are preparing an ever-increasing number of volumes serving this purpose. Periodicals of respectable past are also continuing their educational work. All these have been brought to life on the premise that the language material is inseparable from the set of concepts; while the use of language is synonymous with thinking. Hence a recognition of the rules of language and usage is a way to recognizing reality — and also to a refined art of thinking.

Language and speech is a carrier of thought. The standard is the best-developed type of language. Thus linguistics has as its most immediate task the furthering and propagation of the standard, this being a way of national education and also education of man. — Faithfully absolving this task, owing to the efforts of never deserting observers of the task, Hungarian standard has been successful in developing from a narrow occupational usage of late-medieval scribes into an adequate vehicle of national culture; neither retrograde social forces nor outlandish dynasts or foreign tongues could check this development. Finally it has received a superb form that cannot be dispensed with by anyone who wishes to read, write, or speak Hungarian at a more elevated level.

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HUNGARIAN DIALECTS

by

SAMU IMRE

INTRODUCTION

As early as the sixteenth century, Hungarian historiographers and grammarians made references and occasional remarks which indicate that some of them had noticed dialectal differences in the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of Hungarian during this relatively early cultural phase. Nevertheless, a really profound interest in Hungarian dialects only asserted itself during the second half of the eighteenth century. Even then the study of dialects was not primarily connected with linguistic research but was, rather, motivated by social-political aspirations or economic factors with which contemporary literary trends were as closely allied in Hungary as they were in many other parts of Europe. In reaction to the Germanizing policy of the Hapsburgs in Hungary, the ideas of the Enlightenment were deeply intertwined with the national movements which strove, among other things, for a polished and refined Hungarian tongue and for a literary revival. All these circumstances favourably influenced the development of the Hungarian language, bringing about a transformation which was sometimes artificial in nature and sometimes forced in its methods but which was, at the same time, definitely positive as regards its final results: it was called the Language Reform Movement. The advocates of this reform had readily drawn from the dialects while their antagonists also referred to the popular idiom, especially when criticizing some of the curious and irregular word-formations of the neologists. As a result, a rich vocabulary of dialectal data was accumulated which was published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1838, entitled *Magyar Tájszótár* (Hungarian Dialect Dictionary).

The collection of dialectal words did not, of course, come to an end with this publication. A remarkable upswing ensued in 1872, when the periodical *Magyar Nyelvőr* (Hungarian Purist) was launched. More and more linguists joined the enthusiastic legion of collectors for the periodical, and besides collecting single items, they also published studies and monographs on dialects in increasing number, employing up-to-date scientific methods. The material collected during this period was published in the *Magyar Tájszótár* (Hungarian Dialect Dictionary) by József Szinnyei (1893—1901). The same decade also produced the first comprehensive work on Hungarian dialects: *A magyar nyelvjárások osztályozása és jellemzése* (Classification and Characterization of Hungarian Dialects) by József Balassa (1891).

The main approach to linguistic problems in Hungary between the two world wars was historical. The investigation of dialects was therefore rather neglected. Yet, two comprehensive works were published in the inter-war period: *A magyar nyelvjárások* (Hungarian Dialects) by Antal Horger

(1934) and another work bearing the same title by Gyula Laziczius (1936). The former approaches the subject from an historical angle, while the latter is an attempt to introduce phonological principles into the classification.

In the late 1930s, Bálint Csűry, professor at the University of Debrecen, gave a new impetus to research by conducting investigations under better conditions and with more adequately organized scientific apparatus than in any of the earlier stages. The results of his complex investigations were completed by historical examination of the dialects by means of a novel method introduced by Géza Bárczi, successor of Bálint Csűry at the University of Debrecen. Later, the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, established in Budapest in 1949, also built dialect research into its programme, including a survey of Hungarian dialects in maps. Search for material having been finished, the first volume of this material appeared in 1968, the second in 1970. Parallel with the preparation of the maps, the stock of dialect words published in any form or deposited in manuscripts since 1890 has been prepared for inclusion in a dialect dictionary.

OLD HUNGARIAN DIALECTS FROM THE TENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

1. The first data relating to Old Hungarian are found scattered in foreign sources dating from the end of the ninth century. Their number is rather modest in the tenth century. Nevertheless, their evidence permits us to surmise that the language of the Hungarians was not completely uniform when they settled in the Carpathian Basin, and already at that time we may realistically reckon with some degree of dialectal differentiation, primarily in phonology. It is likely that a small group of Hungarians used the sound *ü* at the time of the Great Conquest, while the rest of them — the majority perhaps — pronounced *i* instead of *ü*. This supposition is supported convincingly enough by those early traces of the Hungarian language which are found scattered in Greek sources. Accordingly, the Hungarian language of the Conquest period had alternative forms like *szimⁱ* : *szümⁿü* 'eye' (modern Hungarian: *szëm* : *szöm* : *szem*), *kizⁱ* : *küzü* 'space between two points' (modern: *köz*), etc. This phenomenon is well illustrated by the earliest loanwords which came into Hungarian prior to the Conquest. Some of these words preserved their original Turkic *ü* and *ö* sounds after they entered Hungarian, e.g. Turkic *öküz* : Hungarian *ükürü* 'ox' (modern: *ökör*). In other loanwords we find *i*, e.g. Turkic *ödäγ* : Hungarian *ideγ* > *ideü* 'time' (modern: *idő*). Obviously, the former type was borrowed by a group which had the vowel *ü* in its system of sounds, while the latter was taken over by a group which lacked *ü* and substituted *i* for it. The fact that these original forms were paralleled at a later stage of development by their illabial or labial doublets (e.g. *ëkër*, *üdő*) is a different question (namely, that of intermingling dialects, analogical changes, and the internal evolution of the dialects).

Some of the more uncommon results of the phonetic changes which took place in the Old Hungarian period also provide explanations for differentiations of dialectal origin. Thus *f* is the reflex of initial **p* in most Hungarian words of Finno-Ugric origin already during the period of the Conquest; e.g. *fül* 'ear', *fű* 'grass', *fél* 'half', *fő* 'head'. In some words, however, **p* has survived; e.g. *por* 'dust', *para* 'a piece of light wood floating in the water, fastened to the edge of the fishing net'. Similarly, in Finno-Ugric words with a velar vocalism *h* is the reflex of original **k*; e.g. *hal* 'fish', *három* 'three', *hat* 'six', etc. Nevertheless, *k* also occurs in a few words of similar character: *kap* 'receive', *kajla* 'slanting', etc.

Dialectal differences must have been present in the vocabulary of the Hungarians in the Conquest period, although no positive traces of this can be demonstrated for the time being. Certain dialectal differentiations in all likelihood also existed in the grammatical system, but these are even more difficult to prove.

Dialectal differentiation during that early period does not seem to have been of a territorial character but must have been connected with the tribal organization of that time. One tribe might have a dialect of its own and the next might use a different one. It is very likely, for example, that Árpád's tribe, called *Megyer*, which settled south-southwest of present-day Budapest, i.e. in the central regions of the occupied areas, had a language characterized by the absence of the sound *ü*. In contrast, the idiom of the *Kürtgyarmat* tribe, which settled in the region towards the mouth of the river Drava, a good distance from the heart of the country, must have shown more of a labial character. The vowel *ü* must have been present in their dialect.

2. Neither the way of life nor the social organization of the Hungarians changed immediately after the Hungarian Conquest. The fact of the Conquest, however, represented a very important landmark in the development of the Hungarian people. The change-over from the semi-nomadic mode of life to a more developed stage of agriculture requiring the permanent settlement of the tribes must have taken place in stages, although it was gradually completed during the tenth century. The fundamental changes in the conditions of life, above all the attachment to a permanent place, were of fundamental importance for the development of Hungarian dialects as well. Dialects which were once of a tribal character were associated with some delimited areas; the tribal divergences of dialects had become territorial ones, providing the preconditions for the development of the dialectal differentiations as they exist in modern Hungarian. At the same time, we have to stress emphatically that the territorial differences presenting themselves in the actually existing Hungarian dialects cannot be identified with the dialectal divergences that came into prominence after the settlement of the tribes was completed; a more or less direct contact between these two types of differentiation can only be supposed in respect to some markedly conspicuous features. Such is, for instance, the high frequency of the phoneme *ö* in the present-day usage of the Hungarians in the more remote corners of the Drava estuary. This should be brought

in correlation with the labial character of the idiom attributed to the Kürtgyarmat tribe mentioned above.

With the strengthening centralization of the state power, the function of the tribal organization dwindled away gradually. Eventually, tribal ties loosened and dissolved. Probably as a deliberate population policy, the ruling princes and later the kings of the House of Árpád distributed the various groups of tribes in the different regions of the country as early as the tenth or eleventh centuries. Larger ethnic groups were systematically settled in the borderlands of the country for the purpose of frontier defense. Further groups of different tribes were settled around the centres of the counties for similar reasons. Internal and external wars were also responsible for the mingling of the population that was bound to ensue. The demographic picture had become still more variegated, owing to the admission of the Pechenegs, as well as to the assimilation of the former inhabitants of the Danube Basin, who were gradually absorbed into the Hungarian population. Natural growth resulted in a surplus population swarming out towards the uninhabited parts of the Carpathian Basin, mainly to present-day Transylvania, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. The Mongol invasion which swept through the country in the middle of the thirteenth century, then the extensive warfares of the Anjou kings and the Hunyadis, together with a considerable internal migration of serfs, presented a series of obstacles to distinct dialectal differentiation in the subsequent centuries. In spite of all these hindrances, we can observe a certain degree of consolidation in this respect in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Thus the settlement of the Hungarians after the Conquest had had an influence which was favourable to a certain degree for the differentiation of dialects, but this process encountered many obstacles in the circumstances roughly outlined above. The former territorial dialects were rather confused in one or two centuries, and the dialectal picture of the period after the Conquest must have been considerably changed as compared with that of the preceding epoch. In Hungary, feudalism was characterized by traits somewhat different from those in the majority of Western European countries. The right of ownership of the latifundia allotted to feudal lords was subject to rather quick changes. The territorial division of the counties was marked by far less distinct boundaries in Hungary than was the case in the latifundial provinces of Western Europe. All this greatly contributed to the fact that the Hungarian language during the feudal period did not display so pregnant a differentiation as did some of the Western European idioms.

3. From the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, fundamental changes had taken place in the phonetic system of the Hungarian language and since part of these changes showed marked differences in the various Hungarian-speaking areas, they resulted in conspicuous dialectal divergences. For example, the majority of Hungarian words ended in short vowels in the period of the Great Conquest; these word-final vowels, however, disappeared gradually, and by the early thirteenth century they had vanished almost

completely. As a consequence, most of the originally short vowels in stressed position underwent compensatory lengthening; e.g. *ut*^{u} : *út* 'way', *vizi* : *víz* 'water', *tüzü* : *tűz* 'fire', *nëgyi* : *négy* 'four', *kezi* : *kēz* 'hand', *számu* : *szám* 'number', etc. This lengthening, however, did not affect all high vowels in some areas, probably leaving the sounds *u*, *ü* and *i* untouched; thus a duality *út*, *víz*, *tűz* : *ut*, *viz*, *tüz* in dialect types developed. In other opinions, the shortening was a secondary development. Since contemporary spelling fails to mark the vowel length the difference between these two contending opinions cannot be satisfactorily settled. What is beyond dispute is that the phenomenon in question did result in a dialectal differentiation, and this process certainly ended (even if the shortening was a secondary development) by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The dialectal differentiation *i* : *ü* mentioned above has developed into the alternation *ë* : *ö* owing to a process of opening of vowels, i.e. the earlier pair *szim* : *szüm* developed into *szëm* : *szöm*. In some of the dialects the original *ë* sounds have become (with lesser or greater consistency) labial *ö* vowels. This dialect feature is called '*ö*-ing'; the types and degrees of '*ö*-ing' also have some territorial correlations in both the past and the present-day dialects.

The labialization of the *a* ⟨*ȧ*⟩ sound (which was originally illabial in Hungarian) was becoming more and more prevalent in the period under review. Contemporary spelling, however, again fails to provide sufficient evidence for asserting without any doubt whether or not the process had expanded over the whole or a part of the Hungarian language area. It is very likely, however, that the illabial *ȧ* (e.g. *ȧpȧ* 'father', *kȧpȧ* 'hack', etc.), which is common in the northern dialect area (called the Palóc region) as well as in some minor isolated dialects (e.g. in Slavonia, today part of Yugoslavia), is inherited from ancient times and not a recent change, presupposing an *a* > *o* > *a* ⟨*ȧ* > *a* > *ȧ*⟩ development. Even if the latter supposition were proved, the process should have ended before the fifteenth century. Be that as it may, the change has equally resulted in a dialectal divergence.

Old Hungarian was very rich in diphthongs, which, however, had mostly become monophthongs by the end of the fourteenth century. This process again might have had various consequences. Thus, for instance, the diphthong *ëi* developed into *é* in many words in some parts of the language area, while in other regions it was replaced by *í* (e.g. *szëip* > *szép* : *szíp* 'beautiful', *këik* > *kék* : *kík* 'blue', etc.). Parallel with some other changes of similar direction, there appeared a powerful phenomenon which became a specific feature of several types of existing dialects. This dialect feature is called '*í*-ing'. The process of monophthongization resulted in divergences of a similar type which, however, has affected fewer words; e.g. *ló* : *lú* 'horse', *szú* : *szó* 'wood-worm', *fő* : *fű* 'head', *keserű* : *keserő* 'bitter', *mi* : *mü* (earlier *mí* : *mű*) 'we', *tyúk* : *tyuk* : *tík* : *tik* 'hen', etc. It cannot be now ascertained from spelling whether or not the process of monophthongization covered the entire language area. Nevertheless, we have no sufficient reason for precluding the supposition that certain types of closed diphthongs (*ou*, *öü*, *ëi*) still occurring in some extant dialects might have been connected

with the primitive system of diphthongs, the former being more or less identical phonetically, at least in their main types.

In the consonantism, the vocalization of the *l* sound preceded by a short vowel in syllable-closing position was very important. The process must have ended before the fifteenth century in forms belonging to the *volt* : *vout* 'he was', *zëld* : *zëüd* 'green' types, in which the diphthongs produced by the process of vocalization shared the development of other diphthongs. In some areas the dropping of the *l* assumed a still larger proportion, not necessarily connected with vocalization, in which case a lengthening of short vowels occurs, or else they become more closed; e.g. *első* > *ēső* : *éső* 'first', *alsó* > *āsó* : *ósó* 'lower', etc. Contemporary spelling fails to yield a reliable picture of this phenomenon but we can be fairly certain that the major types of these divergences existing in the present-day dialects developed by the fifteenth century.

The morphological system of the Hungarian language also underwent a considerable change, related in several respects to the highly important phonetical changes that took place in the period discussed. This development resulted in further dialectal divergences. Essentially, the actually existing rich system of nominal and verbal roots, also showing dialectal differences, developed during this period, bringing about material modifications in the system of nominal affixes, too.

Dialectal differentiation during this period can be fairly well exemplified by the evidence of contemporary vocabulary as well. For instance, the word *jó* 'river' was exlusively used in the northeastern—eastern regions of the language area, while *erge* 'stream, brooklet' was used in the northeastern parts only. The word *felhő* 'cloud' was known to the western, and *felleg* 'cloud', to the eastern dialect areas.

It appears from the above outline that many characteristics of Hungarian dialects had become delineated by the fifteenth century and that these characteristic features can be regionally delimited in more than one instance more or less exactly. Although some of the phenomena in question may have suffered considerable territorial alterations during subsequent centuries, interrelations between the present-day dialect types and the more important features of fifteenth-century conditions can be investigated fairly well.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARIAN DIALECTS FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

1. In the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, historical and social factors had a much greater influence on dialectal developments in Hungary than they had in countries living under more favourable historical conditions.

Of all the historical events, the most significant was the occupation of part of the country by the Turks. The consequences of this occupation which lasted from 1526 to the end of the seventeenth century were disas-

trous: the territory of the Hungarian empire was split up into three parts and most of the ancient inhabitants of the areas occupied were extirpated. Following the expulsion of the Turks, a large-scale population resettlement, both internally and externally, took place. The occupation mainly affected the southern and central parts — about one-third — of the country. But as regards the composition of the population, the proportion was still higher, and in respect to the language conditions it was very important that the territories occupied were inhabited almost invariably by pure Hungarian-speaking populations. Villages perished by the hundreds in these regions; ancient inhabitants could only survive in some major market-towns in the Great Hungarian Plain or in the marshy regions of the Danube. A considerable portion of the population moved from the Turkish-occupied areas mainly towards the north, rendering the dialectal picture of these regions still more variegated.

After the Turkish occupation a very significant migration started primarily from the densely populated northern parts, but settlers also came from the western regions. A considerable number of foreign-speaking ethnic groups (Slovak, Croat, Serbian, German) settled in this area in the eighteenth century. Part of these have maintained their mother-tongue up to recent times, and others have been assimilated. Remarkable population movements also took place in Transylvania in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries.

It is obvious from what has been said above that the historical events and population movements from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries had a decisive influence on the development of Hungarian dialects. The dialectal conditions that had prevailed before the fifteenth century could only continue in the western, northern and eastern regions where they followed, by and large, the earlier paths of development, while the dialects of the other areas were mixed intensively. In these regions a high degree of linguistic integration started, and what is more, new dialectal conditions developed in very extensive areas. For example, in the central and southern parts of the Danube–Tisza Midregion, in the Trans-Tisza Region in the stretches south of the Rivers Körös, several so-called mixed-type dialects have come into existence, combining characteristic features of several dialect types in such a way that they ceased to be continuations of any former dialect types. This is the reason why we find a rather peculiar medley of idiom in these parts. Territorially delimitable, distinct dialect types cannot be spoken of in these regions, at least not in the sense that they are as discernible as in the less disturbed western, northern or eastern parts of the country.

2. Beside the population movements mentioned, the shaping of dialects was affected by another factor fully linguistic in character, whose influence has been increasingly manifest from the sixteenth century on. From that time on, regional vernaculars began to emerge above the level of dialects, receiving more and more distinct contours and turning into regional standard languages, that is, the primitive forms of what is now regarded as the literary language. Thus, in addition to an already existing

horizontal division of the language, a vertical differentiation also began to take shape. Of course, in the slowly crystallizing varieties of vernaculars, we can speak of their unity only in a very relative sense, but quite a number of the original dialectal features are no longer present in them. Or, if they are present at all, their frequency is by no means in harmony with their actual significance and proportion at the lower dialect levels. The influence of regional vernaculars on spoken dialects must have been rather modest in the beginning, but it is quite explicit in the written language of the period. Finally, the spread of book-printing had a definitive impact on the shape of dialects and the role of sermons as mediators of the lingual influence of the Bible should not be left out of consideration in this respect.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the vertical differentiation of the Hungarian language received a further impetus from the appearance of a relatively uniform language then taking a solid position above the horizons of dialects and regional vernaculars. In subsequent decades, this novel variety of language exerted a rather decisive influence on the various dialects, acting in the direction of a uniform standardization of the common language. In 1844, the Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences made a plea for research on Hungarian dialects, because the dialects were, he observed, gradually losing their original qualities and their most original properties owing to an ever-increasing influence of standard Hungarian.

3. By the end of the fourteenth century, quite a number of important changes had taken place in the language which had major consequences for Hungarian phonology. These changes had also considerably affected the process of differentiation among the dialects. Nevertheless, the particular features thus developed did not cease to be in a state of more or less conspicuous territorial shift during the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. It can be assumed beyond doubt, for instance, that the present-day eastern boundaries of the *í*-ing dialect area deviate to a considerable measure from those in either the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In all likelihood, similar shifts have taken place in other dialect features, although their territorial movements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are more difficult to trace because of our rather scanty knowledge of their history during that period.

The phonetic features of Hungarian dialects underwent considerable modifications even after the fifteenth century. One of the most significant changes consists in the lowering of the *e* ⟨*ë*⟩ sound (i.e. in its developing gradually into *ε* ⟨*e*⟩). This process can be traced from the fifteenth century on. For example, the phonemes *e* : *ε* ⟨*ë* : *e*⟩ are discerned very consistently in the Vienna Codex and while the process of opening was left completely unnoticed by a copyist of the work in one dialect, in the copy of another imitator this process attained a very advanced stage, at least in certain types of words. However, the lowering process *ë* > *e* assumed larger proportions only after the fifteenth century, when it was completed and generally established in the northeastern and eastern areas (excepting the Kalotaszeg and the Székely regions). The fact that the two phonemes are not dis-

tinguished in either the literary language or in the standardized spelling is largely due to the impact which the eastern areas have had on the development of the Hungarian language.

After the sixteenth century, most of the Hungarian dialects lost the ē̞ ⟨ē⟩ phoneme in words like *fēl* 'half', *kēz* 'hand', *jēg* 'ice' etc., replacing it it by *ē* ⟨*é*⟩ *(fél, kéz, jég)*. The ē̞ ⟨ē⟩ phoneme has survived in the interior parts of the northern areas, but symptoms of gradual decay can also be observed in that region.

In regions characterized by the *a* ⟨*ȧ*⟩ sound (in the northern parts of the country and in Slavonia) the *ā* ⟨*á*⟩ assumed a more labialized character. A typical realization of this process is the appearance of the ɔ̄ ⟨*ā*⟩ sound, which however, sometimes approximates the sound *ó*. (Phonetical overlapping as a phenomenon in Hungarian dialects is relatively frequent.) The phenomenon *ā* > ɔ̄ ⟨*á* > *ā*⟩ must be related, in all probability, with the dissimilating effect of the *ȧ* sound (e.g. *mȧdár* > *mȧdār* 'bird'), extending to other word types with *á*, by way of analogy. The beginning of the phenomenon may be fixed somewhere in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

A similar process came about in relation with the ɔ ⟨*a*⟩ sound in syllables preceded by a syllable with *ā* ⟨*á*⟩. In the western regions and in some eastern parts, this sound has become strongly closed and labialized, and oscillates between *a* and *o* (e.g. *árpa* ~ *árpą* ~ *árpǫ* ~ *árpo* 'barley', etc.). Some of the results of this phenomenon have made their presence felt in the standard language, e.g. *város* (<*váras*) 'town, city', *lábas* ~ *lábos* 'casserole'.

An inverse process has taken place in the central parts of Transylvania: the *o* sound in syllables preceded by *ā* ⟨*á*⟩ or ɔ ⟨*a*⟩ has become more open; e.g. *három* > *háram* 'three'. The phenomenon has extended to every *o* sound in unstressed position. This dialectal feature of '*a*-ing' had become general in the mentioned areas by the end of the eighteenth century. Later an opening process *o* > *a* in stressed syllables took place in some of the regions, where the phoneme *o* may be regarded as practically extinct.

In the western and easternmost areas a markedly open ɛ ⟨*e*⟩ sound is characteristic; e.g. *szȧkér* ~ *szękér* 'cart'. This phenomenon probably began no earlier than the sixteenth century.

Although the beginning of the process points back, in all probability, to the fifteenth century, it must have been in the sixteenth century that the realization of the process, by force of which the long vowels of middle tongue position *ó, ő, é* assumed an opening diphthongal character (of the types *u͡o, ü͡ö, i͡ë*), had become prevalent in some parts of the language area.

A feature primarily characteristic of the Trans-Tisza Region is that short vowels have markedly lengthened under the influence of some syllable-closing short consonants (*l, r, j*); e.g. *első* ~ *ēlső* 'first', *borjú* ~ *bórjú* 'calf', *ajtó* ~ *ājtó* 'door', *ökör* ~ *ökőr* 'ox', etc. From the sixteenth century on the phenomenon can also be demonstrated in the spelling of written documents from the eastern areas.

The diverse paths of development of the old Hungarian *l'* ⟨*ly*⟩ represent one of the most significant changes in the domain of consonants. This change had started — in some morphemes, or depending on certain phonetic conditions — much earlier than the sixteenth century, although the large-

scale divergence so characteristic of present-day Hungarian dialects came to predominate only after that century. As a result, we have *l* replacing an original *ľ* ⟨*ly*⟩ in most of the morphemes in the western parts, *j* in the eastern, while *ľ* ⟨*ly*⟩ has remained, in general, in its original form in large areas of the northern regions.

A typical feature occurring in the northern parts, by strength of which the sounds *t, d, l,* and *n* preceding *i* (and less frequently *í, ü,* and *ű*) are palatalized and replaced by the sounds *ť, ď, ľ,* and *ń* ⟨*ty, gy, ly,* and *ny*⟩ respectively, cannot be observed before the sixteenth century.

Similarly in the sixteenth century, a change from *rj* to *rď* ⟨*rgy*⟩ began in the western-southwestern Transdanubian regions; e.g. *borjú* > *borgyu* 'calf'. Later, this modification extended to every consonant + *j* connection, resulting in consonant + *ď, ť* ⟨*gy, ty*⟩ clusters; e.g. *szomjas* > *szomgyas* 'thirsty', *gyapjú* > *gyaptyu* 'wool', etc.

Long consonants are practically absent in the consonant system of part of the northeastern area. In respect to certain morphemes, this phenomenon may be regarded as a survival from ancient times, in which case lengthening never took place at all, while in respect to other morphemes, a shortening did actually occur. For the time being, these phenomena cannot be precisely dated; but in all likelihood they set in after the sixteenth century.

Further changes also took place in the morphological system. Thus, parallel with the retreat of the *ē* phoneme, the root-types *fēl* : *felet, kēz* : *kezet* have been gradually replaced by the forms *fél* : *felet, kéz* : *kezet* in a major part of the language area. As a result of the opening process *ë* > *e*, some well-delimitable divergences of root-types have come to prevail, like *ekë* : *ekét, ekë* : *ekít, eke* : *ekét, eke* : *ekít; kezë* : *kezit, keze* : *kezit,* etc. Owing to the lengthening of high vowels in stressed syllables, the root-type *út* : *utat, fű* : *füvet,* etc. has been pushed into the background and replaced by the root-type *út* : *útat, fű* : *fűvet,* in the eastern areas. A compensatory process in the opposite way, e.g. *ut* : *utat, fü* : *füvet,* sprang forth probably long before the sixteenth century.

Certain territorial differences can also be established in respect to the possessive suffixes, the system of which shows conspicuous variations for the third person singular and the third person plural. The main types are as follows: singular: *-a, -i (lába, kezi, füli); -a, -ë, -ö (lába, kezë, fülö); -a, -ë (lába, kezë, fülë); -a, -e (lába, keze, füle);* plural: *-ik (lábik, kezik, fülik); -ok, -ëk, -ök (lábok, kezëk, fülök); -ok, -ek, -ök (lábok, kezek, fülök); -uk, -ük (lábuk, kezük, fülük); -ak, -ek (lábak, kezek, fülek).*

The dissolution in the conjugation system of *-ik* verbs had started, to a certain degree, before the sixteenth century. This process amounting to a confusion of the grammatical forms of *-ik* verbs with those of non-*ik* verbs continued in subsequent centuries, although the rate of development was slower in the western and eastern regions than in the other parts of the language area.

The *-n* suffix of the third person singular of the indicative mood had disappeared from verbs like *teszen, leszen, megyen,* etc., in analogy to verbs of the type *ad, néz, ír,* etc., in a considerable part of the language area; the ancient forms have only been preserved in the eastern parts.

The period under discussion produced equally significant divergences in the field of vocabulary, first of all in eastern–western relation; however, we shall not discuss this question here.

4. After the sixteenth century, the forces which enhanced dialectal differentiation in Hungary and the socio-historical circumstances favourable to the internal development of separate dialect types were primarily at work in the western, northern and eastern areas, where the population movements, due to external causes, were least intensive. It follows from this that the conditions most favourable for the survival and development of old Hungarian dialects in their earlier forms were guaranteed most in these parts. It should be stated, however, that dialectal differentiation never reached so high a stage, not even in the most remote corners of the country, as would have presented any considerable impediment to mutual understanding. Such sharp differences developed neither in the phonetic system nor in the grammatical forms of Hungarian. What is more, even the internal development of the vocabulary in the various dialects has failed to assume so high a proportion as might have meant any serious obstacle to mutual understanding among Hungarian speakers.

RECENT HUNGARIAN DIALECTS

In connection with recent Hungarian dialects, we shall present dialectal developments during the past two decades. This survey is primarily based on the material collected during that period. The present-day condition of Hungarian dialects has been equally determined by the social, economic and educational changes of post-war Hungary. The period following World War II has witnessed the unfolding of large-scale industrialization. Industrial centres have developed in agricultural areas which formerly had a definitely rural character (i.e., dialectal from our point of view). As a result, very significant population movements started. In part, working families settled in the industrial centres, and in part commuters from regions situated at a distance — sometimes rather far from the attraction centres — found employment in the industrial places, maintaining, however, their original residences in the provinces. All this amounted to the mixing of dialect types up to a certain point. What is most consequential from our point of view, however, is that a process of mutual levelling has set in, in the course of which the sharpest dialectal differences have gradually eroded. The expansion of the educational system and, in particular, a steadily growing ratio of rural children in middle and high schools have had a decisive part in the so far unparalleled influence of the standard language on the dialects. The results have been reinforced by a sudden increase of the intelligentsia in the provinces, as well as by the gradual spread of radio and television, books, newspapers, etc.

As to the territorial division of dialects, the social restratification and the educational changes have not had any major consequence for the present,

but the number of dialect-speakers has greatly decreased. In other words, a further stratification has set in in regard to dialect areas. On the one hand, a type of "bilingual" population has appeared: individuals of this class maintain their native dialect as a home usage, but can also command standard Hungarian, or at least a vernacular version thereof, preferring this in contact with non-local people, or in official business. We might distinguish still another class of rural population that has preserved a passive knowledge of the local idiom, having already abandoned it in practice. This class consists mainly of commuters to not too distant industrial centres and of middle-school pupils. The latter are particularly active propagators of standard usage in their environments. In spite of all this, the number of dialect-speakers is rather high, the overwhelming majority living in peasantry. We would like to emphasize, however, that the differentiation between standard usage and dialects cannot be reduced to a mere generational problem, because educational factors are responsible for it.

Phonemic Systems in Recent Hungarian Dialects

1. In regard to their phonemic systems, recent Hungarian dialects show qualitative and quantitative divergences which are significant both in relation to the standard language and also from the viewpoint of the individual dialects. The following vowel phonemes are known in present-day Hungarian dialect areas:

Tongue position	Vowel phoneme[1]					
	Short			Long		
High	*U*	*Ü*	*I*	*Ú*	*Ű*	*Í*
Mid	*O*	*Ö*	*É**	*Ó*$_2$* *Ó*	*Ő*$_2$* *Ő*	*É*$_2$* *É*
Lower	*A*	—	*E*	—	—	*E**
Lowest	—	—	—	*Á*	—	—

As appears from the table, Hungarian dialects taken as a whole use eight short and eleven long vowel phonemes, in contrast to the standard language, which has seven short and seven long vowel phonemes. Actually, the phonemes *Ó*$_2$, *Ő*$_2$, and *É*$_2$ differ from phonemes *Ó*, *Ő*, and *É* as regards realization of tonality; and the present-day conditions can be well explained by evidence of phonology. In some dialectal types, the phoneme *Á* may be

[1] The phonemes are designated by means of capital letters. These have the values of standard Hungarian orthography. The local (dialectal) variants of phonemes are marked with the corresponding lower-case characters; these may be further differentiated by the addition of diacritical marks used in Hungarian dialect studies. Phonemes marked with * exist only in dialects. From this chapter on, the dialectal sounds are presented in the orthographical forms generally used in Hungarian dialect research. For the phonetic value of the individual letters see pp. 69—74 in this volume.

of higher tongue position (*ā*,), the phoneme *Ö* of lower tongue position (*œ*), while the *E* phoneme can take a lowermost position of the tongue (*ä*). In certain dialect types, the sequences *al* and *el* in closed syllables are realized as *ā* and *ē*; e.g. *talp*: *tāp* 'sole', *asztal*: *asztā* 'table', *első*: *ēső* 'first', *reggel*: *rĕggē* 'morning', etc. The modification of morphemes which contain these sequences of sounds does not consistently prevail in one and the same dialect either; considerable differences can also be found among dialects. What is more, the sounds *ā* and *ē* may assume in very exceptional cases a meaning-differentiating role, e.g. *āsó* 'lower' : *ásó* 'spade', *ēső* 'first' : *eső* 'rain'. Accordingly, from the viewpoint of a self-contained system of some dialect types, these two sounds may be regarded as being two separate phonemes.

Of the eight dialectal short-vowel phonemes, the *Ë* does not exist in the northeastern areas, as it is unknown in extensive parts of the eastern area. *E* is substituted instead. There is a dialect island (Kupusina, Yugoslavia) which does not have the phonemes *Ü* and *Ö*, replacing these by the corresponding illabial vowels (*I*, *Ë*). The *O* and *Ö* do not occur in unstressed syllables in central Transylvania, and even in accented syllables the *O* is exceptionally rare in some microregions of this area; *O* is replaced by *A*, and *Ö* by *E*.

Of the long vowel phonemes, *Ū*, *Ǖ* and *Ī* are absent and replaced by *Ū*, *Ü* and *I*, respectively, in the southwestern dialects. In recent times, the phonemes $Ó_2$ and $Ö_2$ have only been recorded from some eastern points, and even there they will soon be extinct. The $É_2$ phoneme is flourishing in the northeastern dialects, but we have received data of its existence in some isolated parts of the eastern areas, as well as from Slavonia. The phonemes *Ó*, *Ő* and *É* do not occur in word-final position in the southwestern border areas where they are replaced by *U*, *Ü* and *I*; e.g. *tinó* : *tinu* 'young ox', *kettő* : *kettü* 'two', *mellé* : *melli* 'beside, by'. The *Ē* phoneme exists in the central parts of the northern area (e.g. *jēg* 'ice', *kēz* 'hand', *ēn* 'I', etc.), but even there it shows a tendency toward extinction and is already giving way to the *É* phoneme (*jég*, *kéz*, *én*). The Kupusina dialect (Yugoslavia) lacks the phonemes *Ū*, *Ő*, for which *Ī* and *É* are substituted. The sounds *ā* and *ē* instead of sequences *al* and *el* in closed syllables are primarily characteristic of extensive parts of Transdanubia and also occur in the central region of Hungary.

Of the eight short and eleven (+2) long-vowel phonemes, five (*U*, *I*, *A*, *E*, and *Á*) exist in all Hungarian dialect areas where they are, as in the standard language. That is to say, these sounds are the most stable elements of the Hungarian vowel system. As regards their place of formation, each of these vowels occupies one or another extreme point in the Hungarian system of sounds.

2. According to the data in the Hungarian Dialect Atlas, the system of short-vowel phonemes can be broken down into the following groups:

(a)			(b)			(c)		
U	*Ü*	*I*	*U*	*Ü*	*I*	*U*	—	*I*
O	*Ö*	*Ë*	*O*	*Ö*	—	*O*	—	*Ë*
A	—	*E*	*A*	—	*E*	*A*	—	*E*

Type (a) prevails in the western, northern and central parts of the language area and in the border fringes of the eastern parts, as well as in the Kalotaszeg region in Transylvania. Type (b) exists in the northeastern regions and covers the major portion of the eastern region. Type (c) can be only found in the Kupusina dialect (Yugoslavia); it was at one time extant at Nagyhind (Czechoslovakia), where it has recently been replaced by Type (a). In some eastern (Transylvanian) areas, the *O* and *Ö* phonemes are distributionally restricted in system (b).

The long vowels — with the exception of sounds *ā* and *ē* — constitute the following partial systems:

(a)			(b)			(c)		
Ū	*Ū*	*Ī*	—	—	—	*Ū*	*Ū*	*Ī*
Ō	*Ō*	*Ē*	*Ō*	*Ō*	*Ē*	*Ō*	*Ō*	*Ē*$_2$ *Ē*
Ā	—	—	*Ā*	—	—	*Ā*	—	—

(d)			(e)			(f)		
Ū	*Ū*	*Ī*	*Ū*	*Ū*	*Ī*	*Ū*	—	*Ī*
Ō$_2$ *Ō*	*Ō*$_2$ *Ō*	*Ē*$_2$ *Ē*	*Ō*	*Ō*	*Ē*	*Ō*	—	*Ē*
Ā		—	*Ā*	—	*Ē*	*Ā*	—	—

Type (f) occurs only in one dialect (Kupusina, Yugoslavia). Earlier it also existed at Nagyhind (Czechoslovakia), where it has been replaced by Type (a). Type (e) has been similarly restricted to a very small region in the northern parts, and even there the *Ē* phoneme shows symptoms of impending extinction. The other four types have variants in which the abovementioned sounds *ā*, and *ē*, or possibly *ē* alone, occur. Type (a) is applied in the majority of Hungarian dialects. Type (b) exists in the southwestern borders. Type (c) occurs in some northeastern parts of the language area. Type (d) appears rather sporadically.

As regards consonants, no essential differences can be observed in the stock of phonemes between either the dialects themselves or the dialects and the standard language. The twenty-five consonantal phonemes commonly used in the standard language are known to all the dialects but *L'* ⟨*LY*⟩ exists as a separate phoneme in some of the dialects. The system of long consonants has been disturbed in certain northeastern dialects and in a few isolated microregions, or — one might say more appropriately — no such system has ever developed to the point of stability.

On the basis of our present-day knowledge, the types of phonemic systems as enumerated on page 313 can be distinguished in the Hungarian dialects.

From the point of view of their practical application, the phonemic systems 1. to 15. as tabulated here are of varied weights. Systems 1., 3., 5., 9., and 13. are applied approximately in more than 90 per cent of the Hungarian dialect areas. Type 1. is the most wides-pread. This principal type is used by over fifty per cent of the dialect-speakers. It is generally used in the larger

	Vowels		Consonants	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
1.	(a)	(a)	25	+
2.	(a)	(a)	25	—
3.	(a)	(a)	26	+
4.	(a)	(a)	26	—
5.	(a)	(b)	25	+
6.	(a)	(c)	25	+
7.	(a)	(d)	25	+
8.	(a)	(e)	26	+
9.	(b)	(a)	25	+
10.	(b)	(a)	25	—
11.	(b)	(a)	26	+
12.	(b)	(a)	26	—
13.	(b)	(c)	25	+
14.	(b)	(d)	25	+
15.	(c)	(f)	26	+

parts of the western and central regions of the language area, and also in the easternmost fringes. Type 3. is primarily characteristic of the northern, 5. of the southwestern, 9. of the eastern, 13. of the northeastern regions, each of them representing a very important type of Hungarian dialects. The other types, seemingly preponderant in number, are restricted to rather narrow areas, some of them to a single isolated dialectal spot. The phonetic system of the standard Hungarian language is essentially identical with Type 9.

Phonetic Problems

1. Considerable differences can also be observed as regards application of the members of the phonemic systems, i.e. in respect to the rate of frequency with which the individual phonemes occur within a given number of morphemes. The phonological changes of diverse trends have resulted in — as has been demonstrated above — territorial differentiations that can be fairly well delimited. Thus a number of dialectal peculiarities have arisen which have had a decisive influence on the phonetic structure of recent Hungarian dialects, lending the various dialect types distinctive profiles.

2. The most important dialect features of this kind are the following:
(A) The dialect feature called *í*-ing. This means that the *é* sound of standard Hungarian and other dialects is replaced by *í* in most of the corresponding morphemes in the dialect concerned (e.g. *vér* : *vír* 'blood', *ebéd* : *ebíd* 'midday meal', fele*ség* : fele*síg* 'wife', etc.).

The phenomenon can be exemplified by data from an overwhelming portion of the language area, but the degree of its realization varies according to regions. In recent times *í*-ing has three focal areas: (1) the northern half of the regions situated west of the line determined by the rivers Danube and Ipoly; (2) the central part of the Trans-Tisza Region; (3) the borders of the northeastern areas. The focal points of areas (2) and (3) must have been historically connected, though this assumption needs further support. The phenomenon of *í*-ing is to be met with in the wide stretches ranging between the western and eastern foci, but while in these two foci about 45 to 50 per cent of the morphemes containing *é* in standard Hungarian correspond to dialect words with *í*, the ratio hardly attains 10 to 20 per cent in the intermediate areas. The phenomenon of *í*-ing has a rather stable position in Hungarian dialects even today.

(B) *Ö*-ing is another dialect feature where the *ö* sound occupies the place of an older *ë* (less frequently *e*) as used in the standard and other dialects. Various grades of the phenomenon can be discerned. Thus, in some dialect types *ö* is substituted for every original *ë*, with a few exceptions which are more or less delimitable. In other dialects, *ö*-ing is restricted to unaccented syllables (e.g. *mëgyök* 'I go', *vëszök* 'I take', etc.). In still other types it appears in both stressed and unstressed syllables, following the rules of vowel assimilation (e.g. *mögyök* 'I go', *möntök* 'you go', *mënnek* 'they go', *mëntek* 'they have gone', etc.); *ö*-ing sometimes seems to be connected with the *l* sound (e.g. *fölhő* 'cloud', *vëszëk* 'I take': *vëszöl* 'you take', etc.). *Ö*-ing is mainly dominant in the southern half of the language area, in some eastern (Székely) dialects, and in certain isolated dialect types in the vicinity of Pozsony (Bratislava) and Kassa (Košice). A relatively weak tendency to *ö*-ing characterizes the whole of the western area, while the *Ö* phoneme occurs in the east—northeastern parts somewhat less frequently than in standard language. In the Szeged region, *ö*-ing has gained ground as a distinguishing feature of the regional standard idiom as well. At the same time, the phenomenon *ö*-ing shows symptoms of decline in several dialect types.

(C) *A*-ing is primarily characteristic of the central regions of Transylvania. This feature substitutes *a* for *o* of the standard language and of other dialects. In some areas, this phenomenon affects only unstressed syllables and in others also stressed syllables (e.g. *okos* : *okas* : *akas* 'clever', *rokonok* : *rokanak* : *rakanak* 'relatives', etc.).

(D) Similarly, in central Transylvanian parts, *a*-ing coincides, by and large, with another dialect feature in which *e* is substituted for *ö*. This dialect feature called *e*-ing distinguishes itself by maintaining the *ö* vowel for stressed syllables and replacing it by *e* in unstressed ones (e.g. *bükköny* : *bükkeny* 'vetch', *könyörög* : *könyereg* 'beg').

(E) In the eastern dialects where the phonological alternation *e* : *ë* is unknown, the *E* phoneme is much more frequent than in the other dialects.

(F) In the southwestern dialect borders, where the *Ó*, *Ő*, and *É* phonemes do not occur in word-final position, being replaced by *U*, *Ü*, and *I*, respectively, these latter-mentioned phonemes have a very high frequency.

(G) In major parts of the western area and in the northeastern regions, most of the morphemes have *U*, *Ü*, and *I*, in place of *Ú*, *Ű*, and *Í* (e.g. *kút* :

kut 'well', *gyűrű* : *gyürü* 'ring', *híd* : *hid* 'bridge', etc.). This phenomenon can also be observed in the majority of the Transylvanian dialects, where it occurs primarily in final vowels.

(H) As regards territorial distribution of the *L* and *J* phonemes, considerable differences can be found depending upon the direction of the changes the older *L'* ⟨*Ly*⟩ phoneme has undergone during its development. Thus, the *ly* sound has been preserved in the central parts of the northern regions; as a rule, *l* is found in the western areas, whereas in the east, similarly to the standard usage, *j* has come to prevail (e.g. *mosolyog* : *mosolog* : *mosojog* 'smile'). The *l* : *j* realization, however, is largely different and the forms with *j* show a gradual increase, proceeding from west to east, at the expense of the forms with *l*.

(I) In the majority of Hungarian dialects, it is a characteristic feature that vowel + syllable-closing *l* of the standard language changes in a way that the vowel is lengthened and the *l* is omitted, e.g. *szilva* : *szíva* 'plum', *föld* : *főd* 'earth', *olvasol* : *óvasó* 'you read', *asztal* : *asztā* 'table', *első* : *ēső* 'first', etc. The phenomenon, however, shows great divergence as regards frequency, being rarer in the east and north than in the west or the central parts. Essentially it is these latter-mentioned areas that are primarily characterized by the development of the sounds *ā* and *ē*, owing to the phonetic change described here, from the sound sequences *al* and *el*. The degree to which the phenomenon has been realized depends upon the sounds involved. It is of higher frequency in *ol* and *öl* than in others.

(J) The use of the *j* sound is restricted in the western part of Transdanubia, inasmuch as it cannot stand in a post-consonantal position (in some parts, only the sound *r* cannot be followed by a *j*); *gy* and *ty* respectively are substituted (e.g. *borjú* : *borgyu* 'calf', *gyapjú* : *gyaptyu* 'wool', *szomjas* : *szomgyas* 'thirsty', *apja* : *aptya* 'his father', *várja* : *várgya* 'he is waiting for somebody', etc.).

(K) In major parts of the northern (so-called 'Palóc') region the sound *i* (and less frequently the sounds *ü*, *í*, and *ű*) cannot be preceded by the consonants *t*, *d*, *l*, and *n* in most morphemes; in place of these are found the corresponding palatalized sounds *ť*, *ď*, *ľ*, and *ń* ⟨*ty*, *gy*, *ly*, and *ny*⟩, e.g. *szeretëm* 'I love' : *szeretyik* 'they love', *pünkösd* 'whitsun' : *pünkösgyi* 'of whitsun', *rëggel* 'morning' : *rëggelyig* 'till morning', etc.). This phenomenon shows a rather considerable divergence in the language area as regards its realization in root-words. Such correspondences as *dió* : *gyió* 'nut', *dinnye* : *gyinnye* 'melon', *tükör* : *tyűkör* 'mirror' are quite general, while *disznó* : *gyisznó* 'pig', *tinó* : *tyinó* 'young ox', *liba* : *lyiba* 'goose', etc. are exceptionally rare.

(L) Apart from those enumerated above, there exist a number of other phonetic peculiarities in the Hungarian dialects that have a modifying effect on the use of individual phonemes. These, however, are of minor importance, and will therefore not be discussed here.

(M) The table on page 316 shows the frequency of vowels in the various dialects. The data are based on the Hungarian Dialect Atlas; an identical stock of morphemes has been taken into account for each settlement. The slight numerical differences in the sum total of the stock of morphemes

are due to one and the same morpheme used alternatively in one and the same dialect; e.g. *iskola* : *oskola* 'school', *ismerős* : *ösmerős* 'acquaintance'; in some rare cases, no data on the morpheme examined have been reported from the dialect area.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U	38	123	78	33	40	70	42
Ü	48	134	83	28	57	79	40
I	81	139	110	88	92	102	90
O	158	144	138	157	154	160	159
Ö	108	126	105	81	156	82	84
Ë	—	105	87	145	24	—	—
E	334	199	205	209	217	346	329
A	268	249	246	262	260	259	258
	1035	1219	1052	1003	1000	1098	1002

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ú	36	—	14	38	50	11	47
Ű	29	—	18	28	49	17	56
Í	19	—	64	32	25	8	79
Ó	60	38	73	68	59	59	59
Ő	61	35	67	75	58	58	53
$\acute{E}_2$	—	—	—	—	—	57	—
É	109	64	57	91	103	50	53
Ē	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
Á	104	104	103	97	103	104	102
*							
ē	—	—	9	—	4	2	2
ā	—	—	16	—	2	4	3
	418	241	421	443	453	370	454
Total	1453	1460	1473	1446	1453	1468	1456

1. Standard form of speech; 2. Southwestern Transdanubia (Szentgyörgyvölgy, Zala County); 3. Northern Transdanubia (Dad, Komárom County); 4. The northern areas (Ivád, Heves County); 5. The southern areas (Földeák, Csongrád County); 6. The northeastern areas (Kék, Szabolcs-Szatmár County); 7. Central Trans-Tisza Region (Vámospércs, Hajdú-Bihar County).

3. Most of the vowel phonemes in Hungarian dialects can assume a form different from their realization in standard usage. In the case of some phonemes, a number of realization types could have developed in one and the same dialect, and even in the speech of one and the same informant. The individual types of realization are often well delimitable. In general, the vertical movement of the tongue plays a large role in the development of variants. In the case of front vowels the movement of the lips plays a large role and the labial : illabial variations represent a fundamental feature of sound formation. As regards the former case, the horizontal movement of the tongue may play a role in the formation of variants, which, however, is less frequently observed. Only the most important of these questions will be examined here.

(A) In the realm of short vowels, the *E* phoneme has the most dialectal variants. Viewed from the standpoint of vowel height, the following row of variants can be listed: *ä*, *ä̯*, *e̞*, *e*, *e̯*, *ë̞*, *ë*, *ë̯*. The individual members of this sequence, however, display certain restrictions not only from the territorial point of view, but also as regards the phonetic position. The preponderance of the *e* variant common also in standard speech is conspicuous throughout the whole language area. Comparatively open variants are characteristic of the western and easternmost fringes of the language area, while the more closed variants are found in the eastern parts where the *E* : *Ë* correspondences are not phonologically discerned. The occurrence of the more open variants is clearly connected with the phonetic situation. As a rule, the open variant is more frequent in accented position (in the first syllable of a word) than in unaccented syllables. In the eastern parts where the phonological distinction *E* : *Ë* does not exist at the present time the tendency to a closed realization seems to be more accepted in relation to original *Ë* than is the case with the *E* sound; that is to say, in these parts some vague traces of the phonological divergence that had ceased to exist centuries ago can still be observed in the form of a mild phonetic divergence.

(B) The *A* phoneme has two main variant types: *a* of a labial character and *ȧ* of an illabial character. The illabial type is mainly characteristic of the northern areas, i.e. the Palóc region. As a combinatory variant, the *ȧ* sound also appears in syllables preceding *Á* in some western and eastern border spots of the language area; e.g. *apa* 'father', *ȧpám* 'my father'. In a single dialect isle (in the vicinity of Felsőőr, now in Austria), the *A* phoneme is realized in some morphemes as a diphthong of the *o͜a* ~ *u͜a* type (e.g. *o͜az* ~ *u͜az* 'that', *mo͜alom* ~ *mu͜alom* 'mill').

(C) The phonemes *Ó*, *Ő* and *É* are realized either as monophthongs or as diphthongs. The territorial distribution of the two main types of these three phonemes shows a fair agreement. The diphthong has an opening character in the western parts of Transdanubia and in the southeastern regions of Transylvania (main type *u͜o*, *ü͜ö* and *i͜ë*). Diphthongs of closing character are found in southern Transdanubia, as well as in the northeastern—eastern half of the language area, not counting central and southeastern Transylvania (type *o͜u*, *ö͜ü*, *ë͜i*).

Among diphthongs of an opening character, a high degree of diphthongization is found primarily in the western territories. A monophthongal

solution is only considerable in the fringes adjoining the monophthongizing areas. Among diphthongs of closed character, the monophthongal solution is in general more frequent, although it can never be restricted to specific morphemes. In these areas, diphthongs most commonly occur as realizations of the *Ó* phoneme and least frequently as a realization of the *É* phoneme, but the difference of ratios is not material. The degree of diphthongization is, to a certain extent, interconnected with the phonetic position. In the case of isolated words at least, final position favours diphthongization most while unaccented position is the least favourable to diphthongization. The diphthongs of both opening and closing character constitute a rather varied system in Hungarian dialects.

(D) From the point of view of phonetic realization, the phonemes $Ó_2$, $Ő_2$, and $É_2$ recently are partly combined with the phonemes *Ő*, *Ő*, and *É*, but a sharp differentiation of these phonemes is also manifest in this respect. Both groups have monophthongal (uniformly *ó*, *ő*, and *é*) variants; in the case of a diphthongal solution, however, the phonemes $Ó_2$, $Ő_2$, and $É_2$ are realized as opening, and the phonemes *Ó*, *Ő* and *É*, as closed diphthongs. (For example, *fiél* 'he is afraid of', *féil*' 'half', *miész* 'you go', *méisz* 'lime', and so on.

(E) The *Á* phoneme has two main variant types: *á* of an illabial, and *ā* of a labial character. As regards territorial distribution, the two types agree with the variant types *a* : *ȧ* of the *A* phoneme, i.e., these two sounds are connected with types *a* : *á* and *ȧ* : *ā*. In the eastern half of the Palóc dialect area, as well as in Slavonia, a diphthongal realization (of the *ȧo* type) is rather frequently encountered.

4. The consonants, for the most part, have much fewer dialectal variants than the vowels. Some of them have practically no variants at all.

(A) In the western part of the language area, the consonants that have voiceless counterparts (*b*, *d*, *g* ⟨*dz*⟩, *g*, *ď* ⟨*gy*⟩, *v*, *z*, *ž* ⟨*zs*⟩) are subject to complete devoicing in a word-final position, e.g. *zap* : *zabot*, *néty* : *négyet*, *ros* : *rozsot*, etc. The degree of devoicing tends to decrease from west to east; it is to be felt to a very slight extent in the eastern areas as well.

(B) Aspirated variants of the voiceless plosives are frequent in Slavonia (e.g. *kȧpȧ* ~ *kʿȧpʿȧ*, *tör* ~ *tʿör*, etc.).

(C) The bilabial sounds *β* and *φ* can be recorded sporadically, but it is difficult to delimit the area where they occur in addition to the *v* and *f* sounds, e.g. *köves* : *köβes*, *ivott* : *iβott*, *fű* : *φű*, *hámfa* : *hámφa*, etc. In one or two words the bilabial tremulant *ψ* also appears in certain northeastern and eastern parts, e.g. *tücsök* : *ψücsök*, *tüsszent* : *ψüsszent*.

(D) Some consonants are often lengthened in intervocalic position, mainly in the western regions (e.g. *elemi* : *ellemi*, *tanító* : *tanittó*, *egyetem* : *ëggyetëm*, etc.). In certain eastern—northeastern parts, the *š* ⟨*s*⟩ sound is subject to lengthening in word-final position in adjectives, e.g. *veress*, *erőss*, *vizess*, etc.; this lengthening of the *š* ⟨*s*⟩ sound does not, as a rule, occur in nouns.

(E) In some Hungarian dialects, the short vowels are lengthened before syllable-closing *l*, *r*, and *j*. This feature is strongly characteristic of the eastern parts, though even in these areas it is not general, and the degree to

which the vowels are lengthened also varies. In the border regions of the northeastern dialects, and in some eastern dialects, the lengthening of vowels of middle and lower tongue-position may be realized in diphthongs of the opening types (e.g. *olvas* : *uólvas*, *körte* : *küőrte*, *szalma* : *szoālma*, *felső* : *fëēlsőü*, etc.). The lengthening is more pronounced in accented position than it is in an unaccented one.

(F) Sequences of vowel + *n*, *ny* in word-final position are often realized as nasalized vowels in which cases short vowels are also lengthened to some extent (e.g. *bárány* : *bárą́*, *legény* : *legę́*, *asszony* : *asszǫ̀*, *bükköny* : *bükkö̧̀*, etc.).

5. In certain Transylvanian regions the traditional short vowel : long vowel correlation is in a state of dissolution, and the long vowels are considerably reduced in length. Obviously, this phenomenon is primarily due to the influence of the Romanian language, and a growing impact thereof may result in a fundamental transformation of the phonemic system of the dialects concerned.

Inflectional Problems

Inflectional differences in the existing Hungarian dialects are far less characteristic of the various dialect types than are differences of phonetic-phonological character; even the inflectional divergences can be partly reduced to essentially phonetic reasons. Thus, for example, the alternatives *ú* : *u*, *ű* : *ü*, *í* : *i* characteristic of the declension of nouns in the standard and in some dialects are not distinguished in those dialect types where the sounds *ú*, *ű*, and *í* have been reduced in length in the course of history (or possibly have retained their original brevity). Accordingly, nominal root-types, such as *kút*, *kútra* : *kutak*, *kutam*; *víz*, *vízbe* : *vizet*, *vize*; *tűz*, *tűzhöz* : *tüzet*, *tüze*, are absent in such dialects. In other types where the sounds *ā* and *ē* (instead of sequences *al* and *el*) are fairly common, inflectional forms like *asztal*, *asztalt*, *asztalig*; *reggel*, *reggelre*, *reggelig*, etc., showing a normal consistency of declension from the viewpoint of roots, are replaced by forms such as *asztā*, *asztāt* : *asztalig*; *rëggē*, *rëggēre* : *rëggelig*, etc. As has been indicated above (p. 308) various inflectional types may have developed for the nouns ending in *-e*, as well as for the so-called nouns of *v* root (*ló*, *kő*, *fű*, etc.).

The fact that one and the same affix may appear in two or three different variants, can be readily reduced to phonetic reasons. Thus, the suffixes *-nál*/*-nél*, *-val*/*-vel* which occur in two variants (velar and palatal) in the standard language and in most of the dialects, have failed to develop corresponding counterparts according to the rule of vowel harmony in certain western dialects. Consequently, in these areas the forms fal*nál* : kert*nél*, lábá*val* : kezé*vel*, commonly used elsewhere, are replaced by the forms fal*ná*, kert*ná*, lábá*ve*, kezi*ve*. Similarly, phonetic reasons are responsible for the development of a number of variants in the suffixes *-hoz*/*-hez*/*-höz* (which may have one, two or three dialectal variants) like: *-ho*, *-hoz*; *-ho*/*-hö*,

-ha/-he, -hó/-hő, -hon/-hön, -hun/-hün, -hol/-höl, -hoz/-höz, -haz/-hez; -hoz/-hez/-höz. The nominal possessive suffixes of the third person singular and plural present a similar case (cf. p. 308). Further, as opposed to the forms vár*ja* : néz*i*, vár*játok* : néz*itek*, vár*ják* : néz*ik*, dialectal conjugation has developed form variants like vár*i* : néz*i*, vár*itok* : néz*itek*, vár*ik* : néz*ik*, which seem to be more consistent from the inflectional viewpoint than is the common usage.

There is a comparatively restricted number of inflectional divergences in Hungarian dialects which cannot be explained by reasons of phonetics. Such are the suffix variants expressing place relations, like *-nott/-nëtt/-nött; -nól ~ -núl/-nől ~ -nűl; -ni ~ -nyi.* These are appended to names of persons, families, or to occupational names when they assume the function of suffix group *-éknál/-éknél; -éktól/-éktől; -ékhoz/-ékhez,* current in the standard language. For example: *pàpnott, Vërësnëtt, Töröknött; pàpnól, Vërësnől, Töröknől; pàpnyi, Vërësnyi, Töröknyi* (in standard Hungarian: a papéknál, Vereséknél); meaning: 'at the parson's, at the Veres's', etc. Territorial distribution is not identical for the three suffixes, though all of them are actually extant in the northern and the eastern (Transylvanian) areas.

In Transylvania, the function of suffixes *-szor/-szer/-ször* is frequently replaced by the postpositions *versen, vessen, uttal* (e.g. *három vessen* 'three times', *öt uttal* 'five times').

In possessive constructions, the case of nouns with more than one possession is expressed, in the majority of Hungarian dialects, by means of suffixes like *-im* : *-aim/-eim, -id* : *-aid/-eid, -i* : *-ai/-ei,* etc. In this respect, rather peculiar forms have developed in the southwestern region of Transdanubia; e.g. for *teheneim* : *tehenimek, tehenejimek, tehenëmek,* etc. 'my cows'. In the dialect of Felsőőr (present-day Oberwart, Austria) the suffix *-i͜ëk* is added to forms referring to one possession — except for the third person singular, e.g. *tehenëmi͜ëk, tehenëdi͜ëk, tehennyeji, tehenünki͜ëk, tehenëtëki͜ëk, tehennyëki͜ëk* 'my cows', 'your, cows', etc. In the village of Vága (present-day Váhovce, Czechoslovakia) we find a phenomenon which is rather strange to the Hungarian grammatical system: there possessive pronouns are used in place of possessive suffixes, like in the Indo-European languages; e.g. *tied disznó* (= disznód) 'your pig', *enyim tehenek* (= teheneim) 'my cows', *tietëk ökrök* (= ökreitek) 'your oxen', etc. This particularity is supposedly due to the influence of the Slovak language. In part of the northeastern area, more than one possession is not indicated by a special suffix added to the noun, it can only be inferred from the context, i.e. from the plural form of the predicate; e.g. *Beteg a ti ökrötök* (= one ox); *Betegek a ti ökrötök* (= more than one ox).

In the verb the inflectional forms of the so-called *-ik* verbs shows considerable dialectal divergence. This inflectional system has reached a stage of dissolution which is well observable throughout the entire language area. The regular forms survived mainly in western Transdanubia and in Transylvania, i.e. in the extreme parts of the Hungarian-speaking areas, but even there oscillations can be observed according to inflectional cases, and sometimes verbs, too. Accordingly, alternative verbal forms appear in the dialects, such as *iszom ~ iszok, innám ~ innák ~ innék, innék ~ inna, igyam ~ igyak, igyék ~ igyon,* etc. The most characteristic feature of the

-ik conjugation (i.e. the *-ik* suffix in the third person singular form of the present tense, indicative mood) still prevails in the overwhelming majority of the dialect areas. In some northeastern parts, however, most verbal stems of two or more syllables have already lost the *-ik* ending. Thus the forms *alkudik, gondolkodik, mosakodik,* etc. have been replaced by *alkud, gondolkod, mosakod,* etc. However even in these parts the suffix *-ik* has been retained for monosyllabic verbs, e.g. *eszik, iszik, csuklik,* etc.

For the first person singular, conditional mood, of the objective conjugation, the forms ending in *-nók/-nők* used to be regarded as regular: *várnók, kérnők.* Nowadays, these forms or their phonetic variants *-nuk/-nük* are only used by dialect-speakers in the northeastern border areas and in the Transylvanian regions. Elsewhere the suffix forms of the subjective conjugation, *-nánk/-nénk (várnánk, kérnénk)* have come to predominate. This is a likely explanation of the fact that this form has been fully established in standard usage, and the suffix forms *-nók/-nők* are more and more restricted to literary language.

The past tense has preserved its three forms of expression in the eastern, mainly in certain Transylvanian, parts of the language area; namely, the past tense is expressed by means of suffix *-t* (e.g. *én mentem*) in cases when no exact time relation is understood; the past tense is expressed by *-é* (e g. *én menék*) when the event is in the recent past; and the compound past tense (e.g. *én mentem volt*) is used to indicate the pluperfect tense.

Syntactical Problems

Hungarian dialects show even fewer divergences of any material consequence in the field of syntax than in the domain of morphology. Nevertheless, certain differences are known, in spite of the fact that no detailed analysis of the syntax of Hungarian dialects has as yet been made.

Regional differences of a syntactic character can be found in the use of certain nominal suffixes. For example, in the western parts the suffix form *-nak/-nek* is rather frequently used to denote direction: *lënek, benek, hazának, hëgynek,* etc., instead of the forms *lefelé, befelé, hazafelé, a hegyre föl,* etc., which are common in standard language and in other dialects.

In the northeastern areas, the adverb of place answering the interrogative pronoun *hová?* 'where, to what place' used in combination with verbs *megy, jön,* etc. is mostly expressed by the suffix *-nál/-nél,* in cases of occupational, personal or family names, instead of the common suffix *-hoz/-hez/-höz.* For example, *Megyek Kovácséknál* (= Kovácsékhoz); *Gyere el nálunk* (= hozzánk). In the central parts of the Trans-Tisza Region, the adverbs answering the questions *hol?* and *hová?* are indiscriminately expressed by the suffix *-ék: Megyek (voltam) Kovácsék* (= Kovácsékhoz/Kovácséknál).

In some northern and eastern regions, constructions with adjectives in the comparative are not expressed by means of the usual suffixes *-nál/-nél,* but by means of the forms *-tól/-től,* i.e. (dialectal) "nagyobb az apj*ától*" instead of (standard) "nagyobb az apj*ánál*".

Syntactic relations combined with concepts denoting time or a point in time are usually expressed in the standard language by means of the suffixes *-kor*, *-ban/-ben*, less frequently with *-on/-en/-ön*, *-val/-vel*, e.g. húsvét*kor*, hajnal*ban*, nyár*on*, tavas*szal*, etc. In some Hungarian dialects the relation of root and suffix is somewhat different and forms like husvét*ba*, hajnal*kor*, tavasz*kor*, tavasz*on*, etc. enjoy fairly current preference in certain, territorially more or less delimitable, areas.

In the northeastern parts, the postposition *felé* has assumed a rather peculiar function: it tends to express the progressive of verb, for example *Az étvágyamat is hozza megfele* (= kezdi meghozni).

In large parts of the northern areas, the conjunction *hanem* is replaced by *ha: Në vizet ȧggy, hȧ bort!*

In certain northwestern regions, the use of the definite article is strongly restricted, for example, *Hȧ fúj szél, zörög ȧjtó. Ollȧn szőrös, mim mȧjom.* In other dialects and in standard speech, these sentences would read: "Ha fúj *a* szél, zörög *az* ajtó." "Olyan szőrös, mint *a* majom."

In the north—northeastern dialects, a plural subject sometimes takes a singular predicate, i.e. the subject does not agree with the predicate in number. For example, "*De szép* ezëk ȧ mȧlȧcok" (= szépek). *Fāj* ȧ lābȧjim" (= fájnak).

In the dialect of Vága, the verbal prefix is not, as a rule, separated from the verb. For example, "Nem tudom, *ki beviszi*" (= ki viszi be). Valahogyan rosszú *kifizette* üket (= fizette ki).

Vocabulary

We do not intend to enter into details concerning territorial variations in vocabulary, the realization of which differs, so to speak, from word to word throughout the entire language area. Here we would only like to point out the fact that quantitatively the lexical variants show a certain kind of dependence upon historical circumstances. Thus the vocabulary of names of plants and fruits known from ancient times before the Conquest is fairly uniform in the present-day language of the entire area. For example, *árpa* 'barley', *búza* 'wheat', *köles* 'millet', *alma* 'apple', *dió* 'nut', *körte* 'pear' etc. In these words only phonetic divergences can be found. In contrast, the names of several plants domesticated in medieval times have many variants that are also territorially well delimitable. Thus 'gooseberry' is called *egrës*, *egrös*, *egres* west of the Danube and in a large part of Transylvania; in certain western parts, it is also called *csipkeszőlő*, *tüskeszőlő;* in the northern and central regions of the language area, the names *büszke* or *piszke* are used; in the parts situated east of the Tisza, *pöszméte*, *köszméte* are current. In the easternmost points of the language area *füge*, *szőrösfüge* are encountered, but sporadically other names also occur, e.g. *godojȧ*, *bucsok*, *szőrösribizli*, *bickéce*, *tüskebogyó*, *koszmacska*, etc. Similarly, 'maize' is called *kukorica* in the western, central and northern areas, *tengeri* in the Trans-Tisza Region, *málé* in the northeast, and *törökbúza* in many parts of Transylvania and in some northwestern points. The name of the

sunflower has some thirty equivalents, not counting the phonetic variants. Thus: *napraforgó, napnakforgó, forgó, napraforduló, napnakforduló, nap után forduló, naprapörgő, napranéző, napra, nabbanéző, nabbanéző rózsa, tányérvirág, tálvirág, tányérbél, tányérbélvirág, tányérka, tányérica, szotyola, tutyëlla, makuka, galabárdi, ánizs, kónic, uszu, puszu,* etc. Of the numerous variants, those which are relatively more frequent can be readily delimited according to territorial distribution. The shape and spread of these denominations reflect, to a remarkable extent, processes of economic history. In earlier times, the sunflower was not generally cultivated since it was not regarded as a valuable plant; consequently, a number of local variants have developed for the name. At subsequent stages, it was appreciated as an important commercial plant, and its cultivation was officially encouraged. Accordingly, the standard form of the name (*napraforgó*) has become current, beside local variants, throughout the whole of the language area. Some plant names which are comparatively younger in Hungarian (*spenót* 'spinach', *karalábé* 'kohlrabi', *karfiol* 'cauliflower') have uniform names covering essentially the entire language area.

The spread of some animal names is likewise historically conditioned. Most of the names of animals that were introduced before the Conquest display almost complete uniformity: *ló* 'horse', *tehén* 'cow', *bika* 'bull', *borjú* 'calf', *disznó* 'pig', *kutya* 'dog', *hal* 'fish' etc. The names of those animals which had begun to play a more important role in the native idiom as a consequence of the change-over to agriculture and permanent settlement (e.g. *kacsa* 'duck', *patkány* 'rat', *egér* 'mouse', *vakond* 'mole', etc.) are again rich in variants. A closer examination of dialectal vocabulary from this point of view, however, remains a task for future investigations.

The study of vocabulary in the various dialects may also be instructive for a number of semantic points. Thus, the Hungarian dialects use essentially two names to denote the concepts of 'mulberry', 'strawberry', and 'blackberry', these being *eper* and *szeder;* the name of the third plant is discerned by addition of the adjective *földi* 'growing in the earth' but the use of the three given names of berries shows a territorial divergence west and east of the Danube. Thus, disregarding phonetic differences, the names can be tabulated as follows:

	West:	East:
mulberry	*szeder*	*eper*
strawberry	*eper*	*földieper*
blackberry	*földiszeder*	*szeder*

Similar semantic divergences and correlations can also be found in other instances.

The Classification of Hungarian Dialects

Hungarian dialects can be classified into larger or smaller groups, i.e. types, primarily on the ground of phonetic, and secondarily on the ground of morphological (inflectional) features. A large-scale classification re-

sults in the following major territorial type units: (a) Western dialect types. Proceeding towards the east, these do not reach beyond the line of the Danube. (b) Northern dialect types. The so-called Palóc dialects are listed in this main type, extending roughly from the Nyitra—Szolnok—Kassa line towards the north. (c) Southern dialect types. This geographical unit includes the southeastern parts of Transdanubia, the Szeged region, and the ancient settlements in the Great Hungarian Plain. From the territorial point of view, this type is rather fragmentary. (d) East—northeastern dialects. This type area includes areas from the Tisza—Bodrog line towards the east and the southern courses of the Rivers Körös, and also covers the western—northwestern Hungarian settlements of Romania. (e) Dialects of central Transylvania (dialect types of the Mezőség). (f) Dialects of eastern Transylvania (Székely dialect types). For these major areal units, however, we can only establish relative uniformity. All of these are specifically characterized by more than one powerful phenomenon and can be broken down into several sub-types, which allow for more detailed analytical differentiations.

There are some further extensive parts of the Hungarian language area where not even the above-mentioned relative unity of idiom can be spoken of, e.g. the lower reaches of the Danube—Tisza Midregion and of the Trans-Tisza Region. Owing to population movements that took place from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the partial dialects of some settlements in these areas have undergone a rather peculiar course of development in more than one instance. Special problems arise in connection with what might be called "external" dialect isles that were wedged into foreign-speaking ethnic groups perhaps centuries ago. As a consequence, these have preserved markedly archaic dialect features, on the one hand, and shown a course of development peculiar from several points of view, on the other. By way of digression, we have made attempts to demonstrate some of the most peculiar phenomena in words in the detailed phonetic and morphological (inflectional) analyses given above. It goes without saying that these dialect isles cannot be listed within the major type units delimited above.

DIALECT TEXTS

In the following, we shall give examples of the characteristic features of the western, northern, southern and eastern type areas. The texts selected are first given in a broad phonetic transcription, and then transcribed into standard spelling for the sake of comparison.

Mikor e mëgvuót, akkor osztán — na embërëk mënnyünk! Az asszonyok fog'gyák a viérës tálot, vüszik. Az embërëk mëg mënnek. Na, mas ki fog'gya mëg? Ki mëgy be iértë? Izié, tanakonnak. Hát ëggy osztám miégiscsak válakozik, aki bemëty. Mëkfog'gyák, huzzák kü a disznut. (Viszák, Vas County.)

Mikor ez megvolt, akkor aztán — no emberek — menjünk! Az asszonyok fogják a véres tálat, viszik. Az emberek meg mennek. No, most ki fogja meg? Ki megy be érte? Izé, tanakodnak. Hát egy aztán mégiscsak vállalkozik, aki bemegy. Megfogják, húzzák ki a disznót.

Elmëntőünk ëccër á krumplyit āsnyi — házá ányájéknák. No, de othon — egész estyig ot vóutóunk ugyë — messzë vóutóunk á fálutó āsnyi. Úgy ërësztük ot mágóunkot még á régi othombá, mind ázelőüt. Hāt bijony — mā őüszvelnek idején, mā oján oján kilenc óurá tájbá mëntőünk házá. (Egyházasbást, Gömör County; present-day: Kostolná Bašta, Czechoslovakia.)

Elmentünk egyszer a krumplit ásni — haza anyáéknak. No, de otthon — egész estig ott voltunk ugye — messze voltunk a falutól ásni. Úgy éreztük ott magunkat még a régi otthonban, mint azelőtt. Hát bizony — már ősznek idején, már olyan olyan kilenc óra tájban mentünk haza.

Két öreg bácsi kint vóut a ríten, váktak nádat, és ebít közbe, mikór mekfőütt a kécceres kása, leűltek ebídēlni. Odaált elébek egy nagy iszonyú zőüd bíká, osz szinte tátogott a szájává̄l, mintha kírt vóuna enni. Hát osztán nagyapám asz monta, hogy ű ád neki ety kanál kását. (Hajdúnánás, Hajdú County).

Két öreg bácsi kint volt a réten, vágtak nádat, és ebéd közben, mikor megfőtt a kétszeres kása, leültek ebédelni. Odaállt elébük egy nagy iszonyú zöld béka, aztán szinte tátogott a szájával, mintha enni kért volna. Hát aztán nagyapám azt mondta, hogy ő ad neki egy kanál kását.

Télön, mikor hideg vót, bevöttük a szobába magunkat, befűtöttük a banyakemöncét, és akkor a szobába fődógosztuk a gyéként. Régönte beleültünk, lë a fődre, ëgy gyéként töttünk alánk, úty szűttük. De most má van neki szüvőszékje. Karszékön ülnek, és úty szüvik a tápéi asszonyok a gyéként. (Tápé, Csongrád County.)

Télen mikor hideg volt, bevettük a szobába magunkat, befűtöttük a banyakemencét, és akkor a szobában földolgoztuk a gyékényt. Régente beleültünk, le a földre, egy gyékényt tettünk alánk, úgy szőttük. De most már van neki szövőszékje. Karszéken ülnek, és úgy szövik a tápéi asszonyok a gyékényt.

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EARLY HUNGARIAN TEXTS

by

SAMU IMRE

Historical factors, more than any other, seem to determine whether a given linguistic community will, at a given time in its development, witness the creation of written or printed texts and whether these texts will be handed down to succeeding generations. Furthermore, we can speak of the introduction of and the use of written records only in the case of linguistic (or other) communities which have attained a certain level of cultural development and a relatively high level of social organization. Nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples who are not permanently settled are less likely to create or to hand down written texts than, for example, permanently settled peoples. It is therefore quite understandable that the first written records which have to do with the Hungarian language are of a relatively late date, as compared to records of other European languages. These documents date from the period that followed the settlement of the Hungarian tribes in the Carpathian Basin, i.e., from the 10th century. They occur in more substantial numbers from the 11th century on; in other words, from the time after the formation and consolidation of the organized state. In spite of all this, however, it is Hungarian, of all the Finno-Ugric languages, which has the oldest and the largest number of written records.

In a broader sense, every written or printed text which dates from a period preceding our own can be regarded as a source of data for philological study. The linguistic importance of these texts, however, increases as their number decreases. For this reason, priority is naturally given to the discussion of written materials of an earlier date and only a few items whose linguistic implications are particularly significant will be presented from the period after the invention of printing.

The character of early Hungarian texts underwent several major changes in the course of history. In the beginning only one or two words or sometimes short phrases are found, embedded in texts written in a foreign language. Longer stretches of prose or verse are of a much later date. Scattered Hungarian words are first found in works by foreign authors.

It is almost certain that the Hungarians who settled in the Carpathian Basin knew the art of writing, runes are presumably the remnants of a system of writing with which the Hungarians had become familiar before they came to settle in what is today known as Hungary. The records of runes which have been handed down to us are, however, of a much later date than the records written in Arabic, Greek or Latin. The runes will therefore be considered at a later point.

SCATTERED HUNGARIAN WORDS IN FOREIGN RECORDS

The earliest work which contains data on the Hungarian language is a book of geography, *The Book of the Precious Stones* written around 930 by Ibn Rusta, an Arab geographer and traveller of Persian origin. The word *Magyar* denoting the people occurs in it several times in the form of *majyeríja* which is likely to have corresponded to a contemporary form. This book also has preserved two other words, denoting titles of nobility and dignity, *gyula* and *kündü*. The same data are also found repeatedly in subsequent Muslim sources (e.g., in works by Gardizi around 1050 and Bakri around 1080). Ibn Rusta's work can be traced to a work by Jayhani which has vanished. This in turn is based on a travel book of an even earlier date, probably written between 870 and 889, which is also lost. The linguistic applicability of the few data provided by Muslim sources is limited to a very large extent by the fact that the vowel sounds are only superficially indicated by Arabic writing and so it is rather uncertain how these data are to be read.

Byzantine sources in Greek are of much greater importance for Hungarian linguistics and history. The most important Byzantine source is known to historians as *De administrando imperio* by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and it dates from 950 and 951. The emperor wrote this book in Greek for his son, describing territories lying outside the Byzantine Empire, the peoples living in them, and the relations between them and the Empire. In his work Constantine mentions the Hungarians in several places, consistently calling them Turks (*τοῦρκοι*). This name is obviously secondary, for the people from whom the term was transferred to the Hungarians were belonging to the Turkic ethnic stock. Between the 6th and the 8th centuries the Turks had an extensive khanate in the area of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea. Once the Hungarians were also part of this empire, this explains why the term *Turk* came to be associated with the Hungarians.

Constantine's work has preserved a number of Hungarian proper nouns; such as geographical names: *Etelköz* (*ἀτελκούξου*), *Tisza* (*τίτξα*), *Maros* (*μορήσης*), *Körös* (*κρίσος*), etc.; proper names: *Álmos* (*ἀλμούτξης*), *Árpád* (*ἀρπαδής*), *Tevel* (*τεβέλης*), *Tas* (*τασῆς*), *Taksony* (*ταξίς*), etc.; ethnic or tribal names in different grammatical cases: *Megyer* (*μεγέρη*), *Kürtgyarmat* (*κουρτουγερμάτου*), *Tarján* (*ταριάνου*), *Jenő* (*γενάχ*), *Keszi* (*κασή*), etc. There are also a few common nouns (titles of nobility) in the book, such as *gyula* (*γυλὰς*), *karha* (*καρχάς*), and *vajda* (*βοέβοδος*).

The work called *Epitome* by Joannes Kinnamos was written from about 1180 to 1183; it is one of the richest and most reliable sources for the history of the Hungarians in the 12th century. Several proper names and place names occur in it. We know from this work that the Hungarians used the word *urum* (today *uram* 'my lord; Sir') as the title of the heir to the throne. (This fact offers an excellent opportunity for describing the changes in the meaning of the word. The word *úr*: *uram* which is used even today has lost much of its original value and has become a polite form practically without any content but widely used in social relations, such as English Mr.)

The above-mentioned Byzantine works and first of all the work by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus are highly valuable sources for the study of the history of the Hungarian language. They contain a comparatively large number of words and, in contrast to the Arabic-Persian records, they reflect as much as possible the phonetic form of Hungarian words quite faithfully and so they can be utilized favourably for phonological purposes.

Western chronicles and annals written in Latin (e.g. the *Annales Bertiniani*, the *Fulda annals*, the chronicle by Abbot Regino, Ekkehard's stories about Saint Gallen) also supply data and information on the Hungarians from the second half of the 10th century on. One of them, *Antapodosis* written by Archbishop Liutprand of Cremona (Northern Italy) around 959—962, describes the battle of Merseburg. It contains a number of proper names and records the pagan Hungarian's battle-cry "turpis et diabolica *húi*, *húi* frequenter auditur", which western people found so frightening.

SCATTERED HUNGARIAN WORDS IN DOMESTIC RECORDS

Native Hungarian and foreign records containing scattered Hungarian word-material have one thing in common: the words in both of them have been handed down to us embedded in foreign, primarily Latin, texts. Considering their type, however, the two sets of records are of a completely different character. The works written abroad are chiefly of a historical nature and books of travel, while the overwhelming majority of the domestic texts are legal documents: charters, deeds, property registers, wills, testimonies of witnesses, verdicts, etc.

Domestic document writing in Latin began with the formation of the kingdom, the new type of state administration during the reign of István I (1001—1038). At that time, however, the writing of documents must have been relatively rare because the number of original characters or almost contemporary copies that have been handed down to us from the period preceding the middle of the 12th century falls short of fifty. It is certain that charters dating from that period were much more numerous, but as a result of different movements of populations, wars, and the insufficiently organized state administration, most of the charters were destroyed. When charters had to be renewed, the original copy was usually destroyed deliberately.

There was a remarkable change in the broadening of the practice of issuing charters during the reign of King Béla III (1173—1196). In 1181, he established the royal chancery, the legal and administrative office attached to the royal court, and ordered that every legal case conducted before the king or in his court should be recorded in writing and that a charter (or, to use a modern term, a "file") should be made of every such case.

The importance of written records of legal cases was widely recognized in a short time. The growing population of the country found it impossible to go to the royal chancery in connection with each legal case and therefore turned to a local church dignitary for authentic written proofs. This led at

the beginning of the 13th century to the development of what were called *loca credibilia* (authentic places). These increased enormously in number during the 14th and 15th centuries. First they were the convents of the different church bodies, chapters or religious orders. Later, the country's principal officials (the palatine who was the highest administrative dignitary, the Lord Chief Justice, the voivode of Transylvania, etc.), as well as the municipal authorities of counties and privileged cities, also issued charters.

As a result of the formation of the royal chancery and of the increase in the number of *loca credibilia*, the number of charters handed down to us also grew. There are more than a thousand charters dating from the 13th century, and there are some 105,000 charters and copies of charters from the period preceding 1526 in the Hungarian National Archives alone. Each of these documents written in Latin contains a smaller or higher number of data in Hungarian. This scattered but vast body of material is a very valuable source for the history of the Hungarian language. The material dating from the period prior to the 15th century is particularly valuable, because the number of longer documents increases with the advent of the 15th century, just as the number of texts containing Hungarian words or passages (and their linguistic importance) decreases.

The royal chancery (whose leaders were selected from among the most educated members of the clergy of the time) strongly influenced the development of the use of Hungarian written records and Hungarian orthography, in spite of the fact that the official language of charter writing was Latin. The majority of the officials of the chancery, the writers of the charters, spoke Hungarian as their mother tongue. This is indicated by the fact that the phonetic nation of Hungarian data inserted into the Latin text is surprisingly faithful and by the fact that the Hungarian words which occur in the charters are introduced by such formulas as "in our mother tongue", "in Hungarian", "as is commonly said", and the like.

The fact that the chancery was under the leadership of the church and that the *loca credibilia* were also associated with the church had very grave negative consequences from the point of view of the Hungarian language. Since Latin had become the official written language, so as to be in agreement with the official language used by the church, the issuing of charters in Hungarian and the use of Hungarian written records developed slowly and at a relatively late date, compared to other European countries.

The earliest of the significant domestic records with scattered words is *A veszprémvölgyi apácák adománylevele* (Foundation Charter of the Nunnery of the Veszprém Valley). The original was written in Greek before 1002, but the only extant copy (which also has a Latin translation) is from 1109. In addition to the common noun *király* (*κράλ*) 'king' and some personal names, this document contains primarily place names.

The most important of early domestic records with scattered words is *A tihanyi apátság alapítólevele* (Foundation Charter of the Abbey of Tihany). The original, issued by order of King Endre I in 1055, is still extant. The data it contains on the Hungarian language are significant not only because of the early date of the text but also because of their abundance. The proper names and the various place names include 58 recognizable

Hungarian lexical items and 33 suffixes. Besides isolated Hungarian words, the text also contains a few instances of running sequences in Hungarian. It is therefore of high value for work on language structure and, above all, for research on morphology.

For purposes of illustration a few lines of the charter, in which data in Hungarian are particularly numerous, are given here.

Adhuc autem est locuſ *mortíſ* dictuſ. cuiuſ incipit terminuſ a*ſar feu. eri iturea*. hinc *ohut cutarea*. inde ad*holmodi rea*. postea *gnir uuege holmodia rea. &* exinde *mortiſ uuaſara kuta rea*. ac postea *nogu azah ſehe rea*. inde ad*caſtelic & feheruuaru rea meneh hodu utu rea* post hęc *petre zenaia hel rea*. Cum hiſ eſt aliaſ uilla quę uocatur. *fotudi*.

Another remarkable record is known as *Váradi Regestrum* (The Várad Register). The original was written between 1208 and 1235. The severely damaged material had become rather disarranged and was therefore ordered to be printed in 1550 by György Fráter, Bishop of Nagyvárad and governor of Transylvania. The original manuscript is lost, but several copies of the printed version are available. The largest and most valuable part of the document is the registration of ordeals by red-hot iron which were staged in connection with different criminal cases and other legal proceedings in the parvis of the Várad Cathedral in front of the tomb of King László I. The editor of the document obviously attempted to reproduce the text as faithfully as possible; nevertheless the publication contains numerous apparent mistakes deriving from erroneous readings of a manuscript which was hardly intelligible and already regarded as archaic at the time of its publication. In spite of this, however, in addition to its great value from the viewpoint of cultural history, it is a highly important linguistic record. It mentions over 30 counties and administrative units and contains about 600 names of villages and 2,500 personal names.

The first works of domestic historiography termed *gesta* or *chronicles* represent a completely different type of source. As regards the Hungarian linguistic data, however, there is no substantial difference between the legal and the historical sources. The majority of data which occur in these historical texts also consists of proper names.

The most significant historical document is the *Gesta Hungarorum* by "P. magister" (Anonymus) which describes the origins of the Hungarians and the history of the settlement of the Hungarian tribes in the Carpathian Basin. The author of the work failed to disclose his identity (which accounts for the name *Anonymus*) and did not indicate exactly when the document was written. He describes himself as "P. dictus magister" and all he reveals besides this is, that he was "once the clerk of the King of Hungary, Béla the glorious who is kept in good memory". Hungarian linguists and historians have devoted much effort in attempts to identify the person who wrote this book which is equally important from the linguistic and the historical point of view, yet their extensive researches have failed to lead to completely unanimous results. The author is likely to have been the chancellor called Péter or Pál of King Béla III (1173—1196) or perhaps of King Béla II (1131—1141). The manuscript which has been handed down to us is a duplicate dating from the 13th century. The copyist, who may have been French,

copied the Hungarian linguistic data, which presumably made no sense to him, with maximum accuracy. In addition to the rich stock of proper and place names, the Gesta also contains some common words such as *zerelmu* 'love', *zerelmes* 'loving', *aldumas* 'sacrifice, offering'. The Hungarian proper names are often found inserted in the Latin context with the suffix *-nek* 'to': *Edumernec*, *Tosunec*, etc. Anonymus can also be considered the first Hungarian etymologist, for he attempted on more than one occasion to explain the proper name he included and very often to describe its meaning, quite correctly.

Simon Kézai's *Gesta Hungarorum* which, before giving the history of Hungarians also provides that of the Huns, was written between 1282 and 1285. There are several identical data in the works of Anonymus and Kézai. This can be explained by assuming that both authors used one and the same source. We may surmise that there was a historical work of a similar character, dating from the 11th century, a so-called "proto-gesta" that has vanished.

There are also a number of historical documents which date back to the 14th and 15th centuries, e.g. the *Képes Krónika* (The Illustrated Chronicle) by Márk Kálti, also known under the name *Bécsi Képes Krónika* (Viennese Illustrated Chronicle) from 1358; The *Budai Képes Krónika* (Buda Illustrated Chronicle) from 1473, etc. They also contain a substantial quantity of proper names, but most of them are known from previous records, so their importance from the point of view of the history of the language is not as great as that of the work of either Anonymus or of Kézai.

COHERENT TEXTS

Linguistic data which occur in a foreign-language context are extremely valuable. However, they have less significance than coherent texts which are in fact the real sources of knowledge for means and rules of sentence construction, stylistical characteristics and semantics.

The overwhelming majority of records with scattered words were the products of legal activities. Hungarian coherent text records, however, were very closely connected with religious activities until the introduction of printing. It is true that the language used by the church was Latin, but the clergy found it impossible to avoid the use of the mother tongue on certain occasions when it needed to communicate with the people, e.g. in sermons or in funeral orations. Reform movements which arose within the Roman Catholic Church as forerunners of the Reformation (which found their way to Hungary in their real revolutionary state in the 15th century) considerably promoted the creation of works with religious subjects in the Hungarian language. No doubt the church officially strongly opposed these movements, but at the same time it took advantage of some of the demands to attain its own objectives. It is primarily this fact that is responsible for the rising use of Hungarian in church records. Such texts gained considerable ground from the second half of the 15th century on. The extent to which the use of Hungarian at that time was dominated by

religious character is amply indicated by the fact that no book was written in Hungarian for King Mátyás's (1458—1490) Bibliotheca Corviniana, this excellent library of European reputation, nor was there any book printed in Hungarian at the first domestic press established in that period.

The first Hungarian texts occur inserted in Latin contexts and are translations from that language without a single exception. There are five such documents available from the period between the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 15th century.

The use of Hungarian in writing seems to have been much more intensive during the period prior to the 15th century than is suggested by the small number of records handed down to us. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that even the oldest records show a relatively established orthography and a compositional style of a comparatively high level, factors that are inconceivable without assuming adequate antecedents.

Short Running Texts

The earliest and, at the same time, the longest text of this kind is the *Halotti Beszéd és Könyörgés* (Funeral Sermon and Prayer) which was written between 1192 and 1195. It contains a brief funeral sermon, presumably delivered at the grave, and a prayer. The person who wrote the text is unknown. The record consists only of 32 lines. The sermon contains 227 words and the prayer 47. This amounts to 190 lexical entries. The Pray Codex in which this document is preserved also contains a Latin version. From this it may be concluded that the style of the Hungarian text was influenced by Latin. As far as the prayer is concerned, it is almost completely a word-for-word version of the Latin text that had a specific character and was usually offered at funerals. This, however, does not detract from the value of the document, which is priceless from the point of view of the history of the Hungarian language. The Funeral Sermon and Prayer provides the first completely reliable data for the examination of several syntactical and morphological questions of the Hungarian language. For instance, it is this document which shows beyond doubt that the use of the article in Hungarian had not taken shape in the 12th century.

For illustration, the first few lines of the oration are presented here:

Latiatuc feleym zumtuchel || mic vogmuc. ÿſa pur eſ chomuv uogmuc. Menÿi miloſtben || terumteve eleve mív iſemucut adamut. eſ odutta volá neki || pardiſumut hazóá. Eſ mend paradiſumben uolov gimilcíctul || munda neki elnie. Heon tilutoa wt ig ſa gimilce tvl. Ge || mundoa nekí meret num eneÿc. ÿſa kí nopun emdul oz gimilſ || twl. halalnec halalál holz. Hadlaua choltat terumteve iſten || tvl. ge feledeve. Engede urdung intetvinec. eſ evec oz tiluvt | gimilſtwl.

This segment reads as follows in modern Hungarian:

Látjátok fele[barátá]im mik vagyunk! Bizony por és hamu vagyunk. Mennyi malasztban (= kegyelemben) teremtette [Isten] elsőként a mi

ősünket Ádámot, és adta neki a paradicsomot házul (= lakóhelyül). És mondta neki, hogy a paradicsomban való (= található) minden gyümölcsből éljen, csupán egy fa gyümölcsétől tiltotta el. De megmondta neki, miért ne egyék [ebből]: "Bizony, amelyik napon eszel abból a gyümölcsből, halálnak halálával halsz meg." Hallotta [Ádám] holtát Istentől, az ő teremtőjétől, de elfeledte. Engedett az ördög intésének (= csábításának), és evett abból a tiltott gyümölcsből.

Free translation: 'As you see, my brethren, we are no more than ashes and dust. God created our father Adam in grace and gave him Paradise to live in. And he told him to eat any fruit he found there except one. He was also told why was forbidden to eat that fruit: "The day you eat that fruit you will die." Adam heard what God his Creator had told him about his death but he forgot it. He yielded to Satan's temptation and tasted the forbidden fruit'.

It should be noted that the words *ÿſa* 'certainly' and *heon* 'only' which occur in the passage quoted above do not exist either in standard Hungarian or in any of the dialects, while the remaining words or at least their roots have all survived, as have the suffixal morphemes.

The oldest Hungarian poem *Ómagyar Mária-siralom* (Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin) dates from hundred years later, the period around 1300. This text is preserved in a codex originating from Northern Italy. Today it is in the manuscript department of the University Library of Louvain (Belgium). It was acquired by the Library after the First World War. The Hungarian text it contains was discovered at this time. The Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin, in which Mary laments her crucified son, is in places a word-for-word translation, but mostly a freely translated version of the content of a poem known under the title *Planctus Sanctae Mariae* in the hymn literature of the Middle Ages. The person who wrote it down and who may well have been the author or copyist of the poem might have been a Hungarian monk attending the University of Bologna. The document consists of 37 lines and contains a total of 132 words. Because of its excellent rhymes and popular poetical language, the Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin is a valuable record of Hungarian from both the linguistic and the literary-historical point of view. A passage of the poem is presented here.

Original:	Modernized:
O en eſes urodum	Ó én édes uracskám,
eggen yg ſyodum, ſyrou a-	Egyetlen egy fiacskám!
-niath thekunched buabeleul	[A] Síró anyát tekintsed,
kyniuhhad. Scemem kunuel	Bújából kinyújtsad (= kihúzzad).
arad, en iunhum buol ſarad.	Szemem könnytől árad,
the werud hullothya en iun-	Én keblem bútól fárad.
hum olelothya. Vylag uila-	Te véred hullása
ga viragnac uiraga. keſeru-	Én keblem alélása.
en kynzathul uoſ ſcegegkel	Világ világa
werethul.	Virágnak virága
	Keservesen kínzatol,
	Vasszegekkel veretel.

Free translation: 'Oh, my dear little lord, my only son, consider your crying mother and relieve her of her sorrow. My eyes are filled with tears, my bosom feels heavy with sorrow; as your blood flows, my heart faints. You, light of lights, flower of flowers, are tortured and nailed down by iron nails'.

The only word that has failed to survive from the passage given above is *iunh* 'inner part; heart', but its derivatives (e.g. *megjuházik*, *megjuhászkodik* 'calms down' or 'subsides') are used even today.

Gyulafehérvári Sorok (The Gyulafehérvár Lines) were written between 1310 and 1320. The document consists of 15 lines written in three different places in the margin of the pages of the codex which is still at Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Julia, Romania). This is where the earlier name of the text *Gyulafehérvári Glosszák* (Gyulafehérvár Glosses) comes from. The document is also known as *Gyulafehérvári Distinctiók* (Gyulafehérvár Distinctions). The codex contains sketches of sermons and meditations in Latin. Three of these were translated into Hungarian by the person who wrote the Latin text. The translation attempted to reproduce in Hungarian the syntactic scheme of the original Latin lines, and so the text gives the impression of being in verse. The following is a passage from this text.

Original:	Modernized:
Habroſagben walacnok keguſſege	Háborúságban valóknak kegyelmessége
eleeknek [keguſſe] vrukſege.	Élőknek öröksége.
Koorſagbon walaknok egeſſege	Kórságban valóknak egészsége
Sciukſegben walaknok beuſege.	Szükségben valóknak bősége.

Free translation: 'The mercy of those disturbed, the eternal life of those alive. The health of those suffering from disease, the affluence of those in need.'

The record known as the *A Königsbergi Töredék és Szalagjai* (Königsberg Fragment and its Ribbons) dates from around 1350. The codex containing it was taken to Poland in the 14th century. Because the language in which the text was written was unintelligible some of its pages were used to serve as covers for other books. The part called the Fragment was bound into a Latin codex to serve as protective sheet under the leather binding while the Ribbons (nine–ten centimetres long and two–three centimetres wide) survived inserted into the back of the same codex. A number of Hungarian books that were taken abroad during the Middle Ages are almost certain to have shared the same fate. The relic is in the library of Kaliningrad (Soviet Union; its previous name was Königsberg, East Prussia; hence the title).

The *Fragment* consists of nine lines and praises the motherhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Ribbons consist of 21 complete and 34 fragmentary lines and contain religious stories. The version at our disposal is probably a copy of the original which dated from more than half a century before as can be concluded from the spelling and the state of the language.

The *Marosvásárhelyi Sorok* (Marosvásárhely Lines), a record from around 1410, came to light only a few years ago. The text of seven lines is a free translation of a passage on a biblical subject in a codex written in Latin. The codex is the property of Marosvásárhely Library (now Tîrgu Mureş, Romania).

The Codices

The number of longer volumes of manuscripts — codices — written in Hungarian gradually increased from the second half of the 15th century on. The period from the middle of the 15th century to the early thirties of the 16th century is called the "age of codices" in the history of Hungarian literature.

The codices are also works of religious character. Their content, however, covers a wide range of subjects such as shorter or longer passages from the Bible, legends, meditations, rules governing monastic life, prayers and hymns. The authors were always clergymen, mostly members of the different religious orders, but there were also some nuns who were highly successful copyists. Leah Ráskai, for instance, participated in the copying of no fewer than five codices. The secular clergy also emerged on the scene, primarily with the creation of the Hungarian Hussite Bible.

The people who used the codices were recruited in the first place from among the monks, while the nuns accounted for the minority among the users, but in certain exceptional cases books of prayers were also compiled for laymen.

Generally, the Hungarian codices are translations from Latin. In most cases only copies of the original ones have survived. Obviously, the originals left their traces on the Hungarian translations. This applies particularly to the way in which sentences are constructed. Possible successive copying on a number of occasions often left the phonetics of a given state of the language in confusion, with features of the translator's and copyist's dialects mingled into the records. In spite of this, however, the codices are invaluable from the viewpoint of the history of the Hungarian language.

Some fifty codices are listed from the period referred to earlier, seven of them date from the 15th century. It would go beyond the scope of this book to discuss this vast material in detail. Only an outline of the codices from the 16th century, most of which are copies of works written in the 15th century, can be given here.

The oldest handwritten book in the Hungarian language is the *Jókai-kódex* (formerly known as *Ehrenfeld-kódex*). It was copied around 1448 in the monastery of Buda Castle. The original is believed to date from the period between 1372 and 1380. The codex contains the life story of Saint Francis of Assisi or, more exactly, the translation of certain parts of two earlier collections of similar character. That is the reason why it is often referred to as St. Francis' legend. The manuscript is surprisingly substantial, running to 162 pages, so it is very useful for research on vocabulary and grammar.

The most important 15th-century manuscript is the so-called *Hussite Bible* which was handed down to us in three parts, in the Vienna, Munich and Apor codices. The first Hungarian translation of the Bible was the product of reform movements within the Roman Catholic Church and of the efforts by John Huss of Bohemia to carry out reforms which also exercised an influence on Hungary. Two priests, Tamás Pécsi and Bálint

Újlaki, both of whom had attended the University of Prague, did the work of translation after 1416. To escape persecution by the inquisitors, the majority of the leaders and followers of the Hussite movement in Hungary left the southern part of the country (the area in which they originally lived) and moved eastwards to settle in Moldavia. The original translation is not available but significant parts of it survive in the three codices.

The work called *Bécsi Kódex* (Vienna Codex) (formerly known as *Révai-kódex*) dates from about 1450. It contains the translation of the minor books of the Old Testament in 324 pages. The manuscript shows three hands. The copyists are unknown but it can be ascertained that their dialects were fairly close to one another without being identical.

The copying of the *Müncheni Kódex* (Munich Codex, formerly known as *Jászay-kódex*), was finished by György Németi, the son of Imre Hensel in the Moldavian town of Tatros (today Totruş in Romania) in 1466. The 215 page manuscript of relatively closely spaced lines contains the four gospels. The first calendar in Hungarian is also contained in this codex.

The *Apor-kódex* dates from the end of the 15th century. It was copied by several hands, and the copyists are likely to have been Roman Catholic monks rather than Hussites. Almosts half of the original manuscript has been lost or is severely damaged. The most important of the 190 page part which has survived is a prose translation of the psalms. In addition, the codex also contains hymns and prayers.

The Hussite Bible is one of the most valuable products of Old Hungarian. Because of its considerable length, it presents a comparatively clear picture of the state of the language during the second half of the 15th century with regard to phonetics, morphology and syntax. The translators themselves were the most daring language reformers of early Hungarian literature. New word formations, and figures of speech which seem bold by contemporary standards are much more numerous in this work than in any other codex. This is the more striking if we consider the fact that it is a translation of the Bible, a ritual text. This can obviously be regarded as the penetration of the more flexible secular idiom into the more conservative church usage. At the same time this also indicates that in that time the Hungarian language was undoubtedly an idiom suitable for writing of the highest level.

The Hussite Bible is a very important work because its translators carried out a significant spelling reform. They applied John Huss' innovations to Hungarian orthography and by doing so they introduced what is described as the orthographical system of diacritical signs, a new and more practical system which corresponded more favourably with the characteristics of the Hungarian sound system. This system ran parallel with what is called the chancery orthography. Of the three manuscripts that have survived, the copyists of the *Vienna Codex* used the new system most consistently in every respect. This is also reflected in the whole of the material available in the *Munich Codex*, but in the *Apor-kódex* only one hand adopted it. The orthographical system itself outlived the Hussite movement and was used by others as a convenient and practical innovation for a considerable period of time.

For illustration, some lines of the *Vienna Codex* are presented below.

Es lègottan mikor meǵ ñittauolna az aitot ȝ nezteuolna kiral az aztalt · ȝ vuǫltǫ nagzoual monduā Nag vag Beel ȝ ninɩ te nalad valami alſaǵ Es mèuète Danièl ȝ megtartoztata kiralt hog bè ne menne Es monda Fügèlmèzièd a · pagimentomot ki ñomi èzec Tahát kiral monda Latom ferfiaknac ȝ nèmberieknèc gèrmekdèdeknèc ñomokat Es megharaguec kiral Tahat megfoga kiral a · papokat ȝ ǫ fèlèſegekèt ȝ fiokat ȝ megmutatac nèki az rèitec aitoɩkakat mellèken bè mennècvala ȝ meǵ ezicvala mellèc az aztalon valanac.

The following is a modernized version of this passage:

És legott, mikor megnyitotta az ajtót, és nézte az asztalt a király, felüvöltött hangos szóval és ezeket mondotta: nagy vagy Bél, és nincs benned semmiféle álnokság. Dániel azonban csak nevetett, és feltartóztatta a királyt, hogy ne menjen be, és így szólt hozzá: Figyeld meg a padlót! Kiknek a nyomai ezek? Ekkor a király így szólt: férfiaknak, nőknek és gyermekeknek a nyomait látom. És nagyon megharagudott a király. Ekkor a király elfogatta a papokat, azok feleségét és gyermekeit, akik megmutatták neki a rejtekajtócskákat, ahol bementek, és megették azt, ami az asztalon volt.

The English translation of the passage reads as follows:

'As soon as he opened the door, the king looked at the table and cried aloud, 'Great art thou, O Bel! In thee there is no deceit at all.' But Daniel laughed and held back the king from going in. 'Just look at the floor,' he said, 'and judge whose footprints these are.' The king said, 'I see the footprints of men, women, and children.' In a rage he put the priest under arrest, with their wives and children. Then they showed him the secret doors through which they used to go in and consume what was on the table.' (The New English Bible, The Apocrypha: Daniel, Bel, and the Snake, 18—21.)

In addition to the *Jókai-kódex* and the Hussite Bible other codices dating from the 15th century have also survived. One of them, the *Birk-kódex* written in 1474, containing the rules by St. Augustine and the regulations drawn up by St. Dominic for the sisterhood he had founded, deserves special attention (in spite of the fact that it is a fragment of moderate length running into as few as eight pages), because it is not a copy but the original translation with words crossed out, with corrections and insertions. Its author was a monk called Pál Váci.

The date of the *Festetics-kódex* is believed to be 1493. It is not a work made directly for the church but a book of prayers copied by the monks of a monastery (founded by Pál Kinizsi, King Mátyás's renowned commander and victor in several battles against the Turks) for the founder and his wife. The codex is the most beautiful Hungarian handwritten book and the fact that this document is so wonderfully ornamented can perhaps be ascribed to the purpose for which it was designed to serve.

Codices from the 16th century are much more numerous and — as has been mentioned before — their original versions date, in the majority of cases, from the 15th century. The place where most of them originate can be established more or less accurately and the persons who translated or copied them are known. There are numerous documents from the western, central and eastern territories of the country. The different works from this

period primarily reflect the dialect spoken by their author or by the copyist, or a particular mixture of both. The material, available from the codices supply ample evidence of the main features of the most important contemporary dialects and, at the same time, provide some information on those dialect features which failed to be used in writing. For this reason the codices are of prime importance for dialectology, spanning — as they do — a long historical period and a large geographical area. Certain traces of effort toward unity above the dialects can also be detected in these codices.

Secular Texts

Like the codices, documents not related to the church and written by authors who had nothing to do with the church are available in a more substantial number from the second half of the 15th century on. This can certainly be ascribed to the unprecedented cultural, economic, and political development that took place during the reign of King Mátyás (1458—1490). On the other hand, it can also be linked with the reform movements referred to earlier that arose within the Roman Catholic Church to herald the Reformation, movements that led to the widening of the use of the written word in the mother tongue even with regard to the church itself.

The number of secular records at our disposal from the period extending to the thirties of the 16th century is roughly the same as that of the codices, but the secular records are much shorter; none of them is a major document, and quite a number of them contain only a couple of lines. Secular texts outnumber those of a religious character from the second half of the 16th century on. The secular texts were obviously more substantial in number, and many of them were even of an older origin than what has been handed down to us, but they were less well cared for and preserved than ecclesiastic documents and were hence lost in large numbers.

Despite their moderate length, the earliest texts of secular content and origin are remarkable from the viewpoint of linguistics and with respect to cultural and literary history. Concerning their content, they are more varied than the codices. They supply precious information on topics of the Hungarian word stock which was necessarily not included in the literature of religious character, and in view of the fact that they are original compositions, they reflect the morphological and syntactical structure of contemporary language more faithfully than the translations which did not always succeed completely in ridding themselves of the shackles of Latin.

Of the secular records dating from the 15th century the earliest and — by a particular coincidence — the most voluminous and significant is the *Szabács Viadala* (Conquest of Szabács). This is the first Hungarian rhymed chronicle describing, in 150 lines, how King Mátyás took the fort of Szabács from the Turks in 1476. It is a valuable source from the aspect of history too, for it discloses several details of the siege which are not known from other sources. There has been a sharp dispute over the authenticity of this record. (This dispute was prompted by the somewhat obscure conditions under which it was discovered, because of one or two strange

linguistic data and certain problems in literary history, but principally on the grounds that the rhymes are surprisingly good.) The results of the latest linguistic, paleographical, historical and literary research, however, have shown beyond doubt that this document is authentic and that it cannot be assigned to a date much later than 1476. Its author is unknown.

The linguistic importance of the *Conquest of Szabács* is illustrated — among other things — by the fact that there are no data available from earlier times which refer to 39 of the 336 entries in the text and that the meaning of 12 words in the text can only be detected from subsequent periods. A considerable number of these words are connected with warfare.

For illustration the lines from 111 to 118 are presented below.

Mert eſmerek hog meg nē bÿrhattyak
Swt Chazarnak azt meg ſem yrhattyak
Azert twkelleth tanalcz lwn kwztwk
Hog menden zabad lenne wn kwztwk
Ky akarna az valnek Chazarhoz
Awagÿ magyarÿ Mathÿas kyralhoz
Az kenczeth ky oth chazart illethne
Sem egh kez kwztwk azt ne illethne

The text in a modern paraphrase:

Mert fölismerték, hogy meg nem bírhatják (= tarthatják),
Sőt a császárnak ezt meg sem írhatják.
Ezért eltökélt tanács (= határozat) lett köztük,
Hogy mindenki szabad legyen őköztük.
Aki akar, az váljék (= menjen, álljon szolgálatba) a császárhoz,
Vagy a magyar királyhoz, Mátyáshoz.
De a kincset, amely ott a császárt illeti,
Egyetlen kéz közülük ne illesse.

Free translation: 'They realized that they could not keep it or write it to the Emperor. It was thus decided that everyone should be free to go and serve the Emperor or King Mátyás. But none of them were allowed to touch the treasure that belonged to the Emperor.'

Despite their brevity, the following texts are interesting rhyming records of the Hungarian language.

János Magyi's law in rhymes dates from around 1484.

Original:	Modernized:
Merth myth eghzer meg zerzettel	Mert mit egyszer megszereztél
es the thewled el vetettel	és tetőled elvetettél,
Ha igazath akarz tenned	ha igazat akarsz tenned,
thewbzer nem kel hozyad venned.	többször nem kell hozzád venned.

Free translation: 'If you want to be just, you should not try to regain what you once obtained and threw away subsequently.'

A *rhyming greeting* written in 1485 by Imre Enyinghy Török to Krisztina Parlagi, whom he was to marry subsequently, is a charming relic of the Hungarian language.

Original:	Modernized:
Emericus The.	Török Imre
kewzewn kryſthynanak	köszön Krisztinának,
leghen kenweb ynhanak.	legyen könnyebb szívének.
Zaaz yo napath	Száz jó napot,
keth Zaz yo eeth hozyaya	kétszáz jó éjt hozzá.

Free translation: 'Imre Török greets Krisztina to relieve her heart, wishing her a hundred good days and two hundred good nights.'

Another beautiful relic is the *Soproni virágének* (Sopron Love Lyric) whose author is unknown; and it is assigned to about 1490.

Original:	Modernized:
Wyrag thudyad, theuled el kel mennem	Virág, tudd meg: tőled el kell mennem.
Es the ÿretted kel gÿazba wlteznem.	És te éretted kell gyászba öltöznöm.

Free translation: 'Flower, you must know that I have to leave you and for you I have to dress in mourn.'

Similar love lyrics, the predecessors of a kind of folksongs of today, are certain to have been numerous in that time, but because of the strict moral standards of the age, they did not achieve the distinction of being recorded in writing.

A remarkable rhyming lyric is the song in memory of King Mátyás, which may have been composed shortly after his death in 1490. This song has survived to the present day in a codex dating from the first quarter of the 16th century. Because of its impressive figures of speech and rhymes, the poem is also important for literary history, showing that Hungarian poetry had already reached an advanced stage of development.

Verses 1 and 4 of the poem are presented below.

Original:	Modernized:
Ne hay walo yo mathyas kyral	Néhai jó Mátyás király!
ſok orzagokath the byral	Te sok országot bírtál,
Nagy dicherethte Akoron walaly	Nagy dícsérettel akkoriban voltál,
ellenſegednek ellene allal	Ellenségednek ellene álltál.
...	...
Akoron the lel oly igen draga	Akkor te lettél oly igen drága,
theged kewanya che praga	Téged kívánt cseh Prága,
meg herwadoz oth zep zeld aga	Meghervadozott szép zöld ága,
nem kellemethes neky wiraga.	Nem kellemes neki a virága.

Free translation: 'Late beloved King Mátyás, you reigned over many lands, enjoyed high reputation in your time and resisted your enemies. You became so very dear that Prague of Bohemia coveted you (as king); but the green branch has faded, it is not pleased with its own blossoms.'

The first *csízió* or rhyming calendar which is presumably based on German sources dates from a period preceding that of the documents presented so far; it survives in a codex written in 1462.

Of the secular texts in prose there is a copy from 1479 (based on the original version assigned to a date before 1370) which contains the same curse on the Germans in a few lines which had been used during the 1353 campaign by the soldiers of King Lajos I, when they attacked the Bavarians.

The first private letter that has survived to the present day was written by Aladár Várday, one of King Mátyás's well-known leading courtiers. It is assumed to date from 1486.

The first book which can be said to be medical in content, the *Bagonyai ráolvasások* (Bagonya Incantations), contains instructions for "treatments", i.e., popular charms which were considered appropriate for curing the three afflictions of the horse: ulcers, carbuncles, and the dislocation of the leg. This book dates from 1488.

The first receipt in Hungarian dates from 1493: it belonged to András Vér and is known as *Vér András menedéklevele* (Safeguard of András Vér). The earliest body of written legal evidence that has survived in Hungarian is that of Mátyás Ábrámfi in connection with the killing of a thief. It is assigned to the years about 1499.

There are only a few items in the class of prose documents in manuscript which survived from the 16th century and later will be mentioned here.

From the viewpoint of language history the *Will of János Drágfy*, who died in the battle of Mohács (1526), is of particular interest. The will was written not long before the battle, and the text suggests that a certain norm of the language which was above the dialects was already taking shape at the time. A salient dialectal characterstic called *í*-ing (the use of the sound denoted by *í* in place of what is denoted by *é*) is evident at the end of the will, that is, at a time when the attention of the author of the document was obviously waning.

The *XVI. századi magyar orvosi könyv* (Hungarian Medical Book from the 16th Century), compiled on the basis of foreign and domestic sources, is a manuscript of considerable size. The *Balassa-kódex* which provides access to the poems of Bálint Balassi, the first great Hungarian poet writing in Hungarian in the sixteenth century, which had not been published in earlier printings, dates from the middle of the 17th century.

GLOSSES, WORD LISTS, AND VOCABULARIES

Glosses and word lists which served as aids for the interpretation of texts written in Latin can be regarded as constituting the transition between documents of a secular and of a religious nature. What are here called glosses are explanations (in Hungarian) of Latin words which are written either in the margin of the leaf of the manuscript or above the Latin words.

The earliest glosses date from the 13th and 14th centuries but contain only a few words. The most ancient of them is the *Vatikáni Glosszák* (Vatican

Glosses) which contains only four words and is from the end of the 13th century. The *Leuveni Glosszák* (Louvain Glosses) contains 9 words. It is assigned to somewhere around the middle of the 14th century and is contained in the codex which has also preserved The Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin. The *Mondseei Glosszák* (Mondsee Glosses), dating from the end of the 14th century, contains only one relevant entry.

There is a substantial increase in the number of documents of this type during the 15th century. The *Marosvásárhelyi Glosszák* (Marosvásárhely Glosses) from about 1410 contains only 11 words, but the *Schlägli Glosszák* (Schlägl Glosses) which is assigned to about 1430 has some 130 words. A collection called *Sermones Dominicales* (1470) compiled for priests with Hungarian as their mother tongue contains over a thousand words and phrases. These sermons were obviously designed to serve as preparation for preaching in Hungarian. The glossary by László Szalkai, Archbishop of Esztergom, contains several hundred words, collocations, and fragmentary sentences which he noted down while studying at Sárospatak.

Because of its length and the fact that it can be accurately localized, the most significant text of this kind from the 16th century is the *Kolozsvári Glosszák* (Kolozsvár Glosses), the first part of which was written in the middle of the century and the second in 1577.

The word lists are works of a practical didactic nature in which the words — generally nouns — are classified according to conceptual groups in order to facilitate learning.

The fragment called the *Königsbergi Szójegyzék* (Königsberg Word List), which is assigned to a date after the middle of the 14th century, consists, of about 100 words. Its authors are almost certain to have spoken German as their mother tongue. There are some 1300 words in the *Besztercei Szójegyzék* (Beszterce Word List) which was compiled between 1380 and 1410. The words provided by the *Schlägli Szójegyzék* (Schlägl Word List), presumably compiled between 1400 and 1410, amount to about 2000. The data supplied by these two documents are thus quite substantial. Less important than these is the fragmentary *Soproni Szójegyzék* (Sopron Word List) which contains about 200 words.

The word lists which have been handed down to us have several things in common concerning the conceptual groups they contain, their sequence as well as the corpus of each list itself. This can obviously be attributed to the fact that the authors produced these works by taking advantage of earlier compilations of a similar character. It is almost beyond doubt that foreign lists, especially Latin and German, played a major role in the genesis of the Hungarian lists.

The linguistic notes known as the *Rotenburgi János deák magyar nyelvmestere* (Hungarian Manual of the Scribe J. Rotenburg) represent a genre somewhat different from those considered so far. This document can be regarded as an early predecessor of the so-called travel dictionaries. Hungarian is the base-language in this notebook. It dates from about 1420.

The vocabularies were also designed to serve practical purposes and the words which they contained were given in alphabetical order. In general, they are much more voluminous than the word lists and most of them were

printed. As in the case of the word lists, Latin is also the base language in the vocabularies.

The most significant of the handwritten vocabulary relics is the *Gyöngyösi Szótártöredék* (Gyöngyös Vocabulary Fragment) containing the part extending from the entries with initial *a* to the middle of the entries with initial *c* of a major vocabulary. The record is a copy assigned to after the middle of the 16th century; it contains some 4500 data in Hungarian. The dictionaries will be discussed later.

RECORDS IN RUNES

Records in runes must also be considered when dealing with handwritten linguistic texts. Runic writing in Hungarian is likely to be of Turkic origin and is supposed to have been brought into the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarian tribes which settled there. It must have spread over the Hungarian-speaking areas before the conversion to Christianity, but it is almost certain that only very few knew and used runic script. As a result of the conversion to Christianity and the adoption of the practice of writing in Latin, runes lost ground almost completely. Moreover, persons who may have been inclined to use the runic script are likely to have been subject to persecution for being pagans.

The runic symbols were carved on solid material (wood or brick); the lines read from right to left. Very few runic inscriptions have survived. Most of these consist only of a few words and their overwhelming majority come from eastern Transylvania. For this reason runes are often also called *Székely writing* (after the name of the Hungarians inhabiting Eastern Transylvania).

Reference to the runic script is made in Simon Kézai's *Chronicle* written at the end of the 13th century. The first object preserving runic inscription, a brick found in the village of Székelyderzs, is presumably not much more recent. The most important runic relic is the *Konstantinápolyi felirat* (Constantinople Inscription). It was engraved on the wall of a stable in Istambul in 1515 by Tamás Etei Székely who had completed a mission there but was more or less held as a prisoner. The original inscription has perished and only a copy, made in 1553, has survived. Another interesting text in runes is the so-called *Székely Perpetual Calendar*. This text was copied in 1690 from a runic original dating from the 15th century by Marsigli, an Italian military engineer who participated in the recapture of Buda Castle from the Turks in 1686. The historian István Szamosközi used runes at the turn of the 16th century as a code. For all practical purposes, runes can be considered as having died out during the 17th century.

PRINTED DOCUMENTS

The spread of printing brought about a substantial increase in reading. Although material printed and published in Hungarian in the 16th century ran into hardly more than few hundred copies, their social and cultural

impact was much greater than that of handwritten texts that were copied one by one. To some extent, printed works also differ from handwritten works in regard to their linguistic make-up: handwritten works reflect the language of the scribe; a printed work can be the amalgam of the state of the language and spelling of the writer, the proofreader, and the printer. Such an amalgam can, at the same time, coincide with a certain amount of linguistic normalization and thus play a role in the formation of a literary language above the dialects.

It is true that the importance of writing remained great even after the introduction of printing and that the enormous quantity of manuscripts accumulated in the archives from the age of printing onward is quite remarkable and therefore important for the study of the history of Hungarian. Still, the importance of manuscripts decreases as that of printed works rises. For this reason the handwritten documents surviving from this period will not be discussed here.

As early as 1472, the first printing press in Hungary was established by László Karai, vice-chancellor of King Mátyás, who invited András Hess, a printer of German origin, to Buda. But his press, which operated only for a few years because Hess died soon after he settled in Hungary, did not even issue one book in the Hungarian language. The second printing press in Hungary established after a considerable interval by a wealthy landowner, Tamás Nádasdy, at Újsziget (near the town of Sárvár, western Transdanubia) in 1539, produced several Hungarian books. However, at that time, the two main centres where Hungarian books were published were Cracow (Poland) and Vienna (Austria).

Only a few of the printed linguistic records will be presented here, most of them dating from the 16th century. A few works on religious subjects will be considered first, not only because they are closer to the codices in terms of content but because they also played a major part among the earliest printed works.

As a result of the extensive influence they exercised on the period, the most important of the religious works are translations of the Bible. The first book ever printed in Hungarian from the first page to the last was the translation by Benedek Komjáti of the Epistles of St. Paul (Cracow, 1533). The Four Gospels translated by Gábor Pesti were published in Vienna in 1536. The translation of The New Testament by János Sylvester was printed (1541) by the Újsziget press. In its preface the author appeals to the Hungarian people in excellent distichs and presents reasons for the necessity of translating the Bible into the vernacular.

The few lines of this text presented below are given in modern spelling but otherwise retain the original character of the poem:

Azki zsidóúl és görögűl és vígre deákúl
Szól vala rígen, szól néked az itt magyarúl:
Minden nípnek az ű nyelvín, hogy minden az isten
Törvínyínn íljen, minden imádja nevít.
Itt vagyon az rejtekkincs, itt vagyon az kifolyó víz,
Itt vagyon az tudomány, mely örök íletet ád.

Free translation: 'What was once written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin is now given to you in Hungarian: it is given to every people in their own language so that they may live according to God's laws and adore his name. Here is the treasure, the spring-head, and the knowledge that provides immortal life.'

Being the first Hungarian distich, this poem is also important from the point of view of literary history.

The translation by Gáspár Károli of the so-called *Vizsoly Bible* (1590) is a very remarkable work. It was the first complete Hungarian Protestant Bible translation which was used for centuries. It exercised a strong influence on the language of the Protestant population of Hungary and was a major contribution in the development of the Hungarian literary language.

Among secular publications, those of some new genres (grammar books, story books, history books, etc.) were fairly early to appear and the effect they exercised was particularly remarkable.

The works to head the long line of publications of a secular subject are two school grammars (both issued in Cracow in 1527). In fact they are Latin grammar books with Hungarian interpretations, words, and texts provided as examples. The Hungarian passages which were the products of János Sylvester are printed side by side with Latin, German and Polish interpretations. The two books are *Rvdimenta grammatices Donati* . . . by Kristóf Hegendorf and *Pverilivm Colloqviorvm Formvlae* . . . by Heyden Sebald. The first grammar book to discuss the Hungarian language proper is the *Grammatica Hvngaro-Latina* by János Sylvester (1539). It was printed in Hungary by the Újsziget press. It is true that it also uses Latin as the linking text, but in fact it is a grammar of two languages: of Latin and, perhaps to an even greater extent, of Hungarian, in parallel presentation.

The first Hungarian story book was published in Vienna in 1536. It contains *Aesop's Fables* as translated into Hungarian by Gábor Pesti.

The first *calendar* printed in Hungarian before 1538 in Cracow is the work of István Székely.

This Polish city also saw the publication of the *Orthographia Vngarica* by Mátyás Dévai Bíró in 1549. This is the first printed work of a grammatical character written in Hungarian from beginning to end. The extant copy is a second printing. The first printing may have been issued between 1534 and 1538.

The *Cronica* by Sebestyén Tinódi appeared in 1554, containing the author's historical lays and verse chronicles along with their music.

The work most frequently read in its time was Gáspár Heltai's *Chronica az magyaroknak dolgairól* . . . (Chronicle concerning the Affairs of the Hungarians . . .) published at Kolozsvár in 1575.

Some word lists, each containing several thousand words, were printed in the 16th century. In the 1533 Cracow-edition of the word list of Murmellius, a Dutch scholar, Hungarian equivalents were added to the Latin and German words.

Gábor Pesti's *Nomenclatvra sex lingvarvm* (Vienna, 1538) contains Latin, Italian, French, Czech, German and Hungarian material.

A dictionary, *Nomenclatvra sev Dictionarivm Latino-Vngaricvm* (Debrecen, 1590) by Balázs Szikszai Fabriczius, who was a teacher at Sárospatak (Northern Hungary), is a significant work because subsequent compilers of dictionaries drew much material from it.

Hungarian was also included in the ten-language dictionary compiled by Ambrosius Calepinus and published in Lyon, France, in 1585. This work had an international reputation all over Europe. — There is a Hungarian–Latin variation attached to the Latin–Hungarian part of Albert Szenczi Molnár's dictionary of 1604 published in Nuremberg. Szenczi Molnár was the first to compile a work that outlines the grammatical system of the Hungarian language (*Novae Grammaticae Ungaricae . . . libri duo*, 1610). Later on, this book served also as a source work to the discovery of structural similarities between Hungarian, Finnish, and Lapp.

As many as 400 printed works were published in the 16th century. Those issued in the century that followed exceeded this figure by more than five times. There was a substantial increase in the 18th century. Of course, it is impossible to discuss them here, even briefly, but mention will be made of some of them in the chapter on Hungarian literary language and in the chapter on the history of Hungarian linguistics.

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AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN LINGUISTICS

by

ISTVÁN SZATHMÁRI

Research of the national idiom represents one of the earliest developed and most important branches of scholarship in Hungary. From the times of János Sylvester — who first in Central and East Europe, and also among the first with regard to West Europe, dealt with questions of vernacular grammar (*Grammatica Hvngarolatina*, 1539) — to our day, a long succession of linguists, more or less prominent representatives of the language sciences, have been engaged in conducting research into the past history and contemporary development of the Hungarian language, assessing national requirements and considering the methods applied and the results achieved abroad. They have not only gained a reputation for Hungarian scholarship at home, but were also successful in approaching, at more than one stage of Hungarian linguistic development, an internationally acknowledged level as well.

Yet Hungarian linguistic history as a self-contained discipline has not taken wing until quite recently, in spite of a fair number of relevant studies. This is why the problem of periodization has not been settled. Since discussion of the subject can be most suitably done by setting up various periods which facilitate orientation and demonstration of the development, pointing out the most pregnant characteristic traits and reflecting at the same time a kind of individual conception, I should propose to divide the course of Hungarian linguistic development into the following periods, having in mind that the boundaries of the periods should reflect as accurately as possible the actual phases in the evolution of Hungarian linguistic research.

I. The beginnings of Hungarian linguistics: from the activity of János Sylvester (1520s) till the publication of *Demonstratio. Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* (1770), a work by János Sajnovics; that is to say, from the appearance of the first grammars and dictionaries to the introduction of scientifically founded comparative and historical linguistics.

II. Transition to modern linguistics: from the appearance of *Demonstratio* by Sajnovics (1770s) to the development of a discipline in the modern sense of linguistics (middle of the nineteenth century): first attempts at application of comparative and historical methods; language reform; expansion of linguistic investigations; dialect studies.

III. Modern linguistics: from the foundation of comparative and historical linguistics (middle of the nineteenth century) till the complex up-to-date methods involving several disciplines. This most important period can be further divided into four developmental stages:

1. From the middle to the seventies of the last century: pioneering, the first linguistic periodicals; Hunfalvy and Szende Riedl.

2. From the 1870s to the First World War; development, growth and differentiation of Finno-Ugric studies in Hungary; formation of syntheses; foundation of the Hungarian Linguistic Society.

3. Between the two World Wars: a decline, primarily in respect to comprehensive treatment.

4. Following World War II: initial difficulties overcome: a general flourish of linguistic studies, new disciplines, organization of the Institute for Linguistics, chairs of linguistics gaining influence at the universities and colleges; the beginnings of Hungarian linguistic research abroad.

In view of the very limited space at our disposal, we have to content ourselves by presenting here the most important trends, concepts and methods for the periods to be discussed.

Anyway, since our primary aim has been to survey the history of Hungarian linguistics and closely related Finno-Ugric language theory, questions of Turkic and Mongol, etc. languages have been paid a lesser if any attention in this study.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HUNGARIAN LINGUISTICS

1. Sporadic remarks on the etymology of certain words had come up before the sixteenth century (e.g. the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymus, twelfth century, includes a number of explanations of place and proper names which are sometimes accurate, too), but owing to their sparsity of occurrence and naiveté of explanation, we can only count the beginnings of Hungarian linguistic scholarship from the 1520s, when the first grammar with a justified claim to scientific distinction appeared.

From that time onwards, Hungarian education — following the general European trend of evolution — gradually extended to include examinations concerning the structure of the Hungarian language. The principal agents in this development were the influence of humanism which made allowances to the vernacular in order to ensure a better mastering of Latin, providing at the same time patterns and methods, though based on Latin, for the study and cultivation of the vernacular tongues; the Reformation also had a share in bringing the native idiom to prevail under the markedly changed political and educational conditions of the country: the former territory of the Hungarian kingdom was dissected into three parts; a strengthening of national feeling ensued; a layer of learned people appeared, etc. Finally, the translations of foreign works, especially the Bible translations, were particularly instrumental in the growth of scholarly interest connected with language. We might even say that linguistics developed as a by-product of the translating activity of this period.

2. Investigations during the first period were carried out on four distinct levels. The individual grammatical phenomena were increasingly "discovered", interpreted in terms of rules, and systematized according to a practical rather than a scientific point of view: the first books of grammar were composed. The stock of words and phrases were also catalogued: the first

vocabularies, mono- or bilingual, were compiled. The grammar books of this period (János Sylvester, *Grammatica Hvngarolatina*, 1539; Mátyás Dévai Bíró, *Orthographia Vngarica*, 1549; Albert Szenczi Molnár, *Novae Grammaticae . . . Libri duo*, 1610; István Geleji Katona, *Magyar Gramatikatska*, 1645; György Komáromi Csipkés, *Hungaria Illuſtrata*, 1655; Pál Pereszlényi, *Grammatica Linguae Hungaricae*, 1682; etc.), presented first the major outlines but subsequently included minute details as well. Eventually they detached themselves from the obligatory pattern of Latin grammar and made successful attempts at representing the morphological, orthographical, and syntactic peculiarities of the Hungarian language. Their rules gave powerful impetus to the unification of Hungarian usage, as well as to the appearance and prevalence of certain norms. The vocabularies of the period (the *Murmellius-Lexicon*, 1533; Gábor Pesti, *Nomenclatura*, 1538, 1550, 1561, 1568; the dictionary of Balázs Szikszai Fabricius, 1590, and many subsequent editions; Faustus Verancsics, *Dictionarivm*, 1595; the works of Albert Szenczi Molnár, 1604, 1611, 1621; the work of Ferenc Pápai Páriz, 1708, 1762, enlarged by Péter Bod, 1767; etc.) which have preserved a considerable portion of contemporary words and phrases, are all representative of the accepted European standards of contemporary grammarians and lexicographers.

Since the grammars mentioned are normative and practical in character, containing references to the stylistic properties of various grammatical phenomena, as well as to their correct application, the period discussed should be regarded as one of applied linguistics witnessing the beginnings of the art of composition and the theory of language cultivation (the first chapter on Hungarian style was written by János Sylvester, and the first book on correct usage by István Geleji Katona).

Finally, the question of the origin of languages emerged in Hungary, as it did in other parts of Europe, and inquiries were made as to the origin and genetic affiliation of the Hungarian language. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Hungarian language was related to the Hebrew tongue, owing to the influence of humanistic ideas (e.g. Sylvester and Szenczi Molnár were of the opinion that Hungarian was related to Hebrew); but from the second part of the seventeenth century Hungarian was grouped with the "oriental" languages (e.g. by the mentioned works of Geleji Katona, or by the work of György Kalmár entitled *Prodromus Idiomatis Scytico-Mogorico-Chvno [sev, Hvnno-] Avarici*, 1770; etc.). These attempts at establishing correlations, like the contemporary Western experiments, failed to meet the requirements of science in a modern sense of the word, still they had the merit of raising the question and preparing for the next period by disseminating interest in matters of language.

TRANSITION TO MODERN LINGUISTICS

1. One need not wonder at the fact that interest in the Hungarian language was markedly enhanced in the Age of Enlightenment; that the

struggle for a refined and generally acknowledged language — including the movement of language reform — was expanded into a nation-wide arena of all aspirations for social progress in that epoch and the following Reform Era; that the comparative and historical method began its victorious march in that period; and that in consequence of all this the weight and authority of linguistics was increased to such a degree as to play a major part in the foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825.

The most important landmark in the way of progress was undoubtedly the introduction of the new research methods; this we have to admit, even if we have to reduce the undoubtable merits of Sajnovics, Gyarmathi, and Révai to the rank of Hungarian pioneers, for it is a matter of general knowledge that the foundation and propagation of comparative and historical linguistics are associated with the names of Franz Bopp and Rasmus Rask and further, Jakob Grimm. János Sajnovics employed a new method in his epoch-making work: in contradistinction to former vague suggestions and word agreements detected by chance suggesting relationships, he demonstrated the kinship of Hungarian with Lappish by means of showing the common origin of certain grammatical phenomena, in addition to the existing word agreements. Sámuel Gyarmathi went even further: apart from Lappish, he compared Hungarian with the other Finno-Ugric languages as well in his work *Affinitas Lingvae Hvngaricae cvm Lingvis Fennicae Originis grammatice demonstrata*, 1799. In this work still more room was devoted to demonstrating linguistic affinity by grammatical means. Miklós Révai, one of the great pioneers, discovered the importance of conducting regular and systematic investigations into linguistic texts. He also presented valuable examples (*Antiquitates*, 1803; *Elaboratior Grammatica Hvngarica*, 1803—1806), thus contributing to the rise of Hungarian historical linguistics. We have to add, however, that in the first half of the nineteenth century — witnessing the activity of Bopp, Rask and Grimm — the comparative and historical trend was lagging behind the Western European achievements in Hungary where a metaphysical approach of the so-called stem-theory came to prominence (a theory which, disregarding the results of comparative examinations and the studies of language records, maintained that the basic elements of words are single-membered roots demonstrable from the living language, and their sounds — having their own intrinsic meaning — would determine the sense of the roots); so the followers of the *fata morgana* school continued to forge their unscientific theories.

2. Nevertheless, the scientific examination of the Hungarian language was placed on broader foundations following the pioneering character of the works mentioned above. An increased number of grammar books appeared with a determined purpose of working out and establishing the position of the full system of norms for literary language. An upswing was seen in the field of lexicography. Besides the works of Dávid Baróti Szabó, József Márton, József Kassai and Ferenc Kresznerics: *Kisded Szó-tár* (Concise Dictionary), 1784; *Új német—magyar és magyar—német lexicon, vagy is szókönyv* (New German—Hungarian and Hungarian—German Lexicon, i.e. Vocabulary), 1799—1800, etc.; *Magyar nyelv-tanító könyv* (Hungarian-

Teaching Book), 1817; *Magyar szótár* . . . (Hungarian Dictionary . . .), 1831—1832; including rich contemporary material and also material of earlier years. Mention must be made of the first attempts at etymological compilations: Sámuel Gyarmathi, *Vocabularium* . . . 1816; Gergely Dankovszky, *Magyaricae linguae lexicon critico-etymologicum*, 1833; etc.

Scientific examinations of the dialects were also begun: a series of studies of this nature came to light in the periodical called *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Collection) which was worthy of its name in other respects as well; and the first dialect dictionary was published (1838), etc. Farkas Kempelen contributed to the foundation of Hungarian and general phonetics with his *Mechanismus der menschlichen Sprache* . . . (1791), a pioneering work, which later was translated into French. Examining the physiological conditions of speech, he draws comparisons between the formation principles of sounds in German, French, English and Hungarian, and remarks at the same time on the variable nature and other general properties of language. Growing interest in more thorough research was manifested by the publication of old language texts. The principles followed in these text publications also surpassed the contemporary practice (Gábor Döbrentei, *Régi Magyar Nyelvemlékek* [Old Hungarian Linguistic Records], 1838—1846).

3. Finally, we wish to emphasize the importance of the language reform which played an epoch-making role by enriching the language from its own sources. It is mainly due to this linguistic transformation that Hungarian reaching the plane of the more advanced European languages, was able to provide an adequate vehicle for such poetic achievements as those of Mihály Vörösmarty, Sándor Petőfi, or János Arany. During the protracted and sometimes very passionate campaigns of the language reform movement, an extensive topical literature was produced on the more important questions of linguistics, such as the past history, present condition and possible future development of the Hungarian language; its dialects, technical and poetic language; its stock of words and phrases, grammatical means, etc. It is only natural that language cultivation also flourished as it never had before; that the system of phonetic and syntactic norms of literary Hungarian was fully developed by the end of the period; that in 1832 the first book of spelling rules was published; that also the theory of Hungarian stylistics was markedly advanced (Miklós Révai, *Magyar Szép Toll* [Hungarian Refined Pen], 1805; Ferenc Verseghy, *Usus Aestheticus Lingvae Hungaricae*, 1817; Lajos Bitnitz, *A magyar nyelvbeli előadás tudománya* [The Art of Hungarian Composition], 1827, etc.).

4. A transition to the following period was represented by the outstanding activity of Antal Reguly. During his research tour to the Voguls and Ostyaks beginning at the end of 1843 and lasting for some eighteen months he made heroic efforts to record an enormous quantity of mainly folklore material. His collection has preserved an inexhaustible supply of material for comparative linguistics, folklore, etc.

MODERN LINGUISTICS

Hungarian linguistics in the modern sense of the word did not begin until the second half of the nineteenth century. From that time on, however, it followed an almost unbroken course of development — not counting some minor relapses — as a complex branch of science covering the domains of several disciplines. It has kept pace ever since with European standards; and it is only regrettable that its products mainly published in Hungarian could not receive an adequate recognition abroad. It is quite understandable that all this ensued after the middle of the last century. It was the time when the fundamental principles of comparative and historical linguistics were consolidated all over Europe. It was the time when phonetics and dialect research developed into independent disciplines; at that time the first steps were taken to represent and analyze languages in a synchronic way. The disciplines of applied linguistics became fixed, and first-chrate periodicals and major comprehensive summary works were compiled (primarily dictionaries of special scientific use, monographs, etc.). In short, language study developed into a real science in that period.

In this manner the scholars of Hungarian had received important stimuli from the age. We have to add, however, that there appeared also powerful personalities — Pál Hunfalvy, Szende Riedl, József Budenz, Zsigmond Simonyi, József Szinnyei, etc. — who were successful not only in evolving Hungarian linguistics from sound bases to the high scholarly level but also in creating appropriate organizational forms for it, taking care at the same time that well-prepared disciples should guarantee its smooth development.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in this period linguistics developed into a specifically Hungarian-centered branch of science — Hungary having been the centre of Finno-Ugric linguistics for a while — and that this highly evolved branch of science was superbly capable of fulfilling its manifold potentialities — after a certain vacillation and decline between the world wars — under the changed conditions of the past two decades (the Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has been organized; the chairs of linguistics at the universities and colleges have been consolidated; methods much more practical and complex in approach have been developed; reshaped and completely new disciplines have been adopted, to mention a few of the results).

Although the trend of Hungarian linguistics has been uninterrupted and of a fairly even course, the necessity of breaking down this most significant period into several stages has arisen, owing to the diverse claims and social conditions and to the uneven development of the various disciplines concerned.

From the Middle to the Seventies of the Last Century

1. This stage covering some two decades was characterized by an effort to seek and find the right way of development as well as the foundation of language science in the modern sense. The organization of the first scientif-

ically equipped team of linguists and the laying down of the foundations for comparative Uralic and Altaic linguistics are associated with the name of Pál Hunfalvy. Following in the wake of Bopp, Hunfalvy gave a convincing example of how indispensable it was to complement historical examinations of a language with comparative studies of the related languages: he himself deciphered and published a considerable part of Reguly's Vogul collection, comparing Hungarian thoroughly with the Vogul language (*A vogul föld és nép*, 1864), extending his examinations to Ostyak, Finnish, Mordvin, Samoyed, etc. In addition, among the first in Europe, he called into life — under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — the first purely linguistic periodical (*Magyar Nyelvészet* [Hungarian Linguistics], 1856—1862), grouping around it the representatives of the new discipline. It was under his editorship that the direct continuation of this periodical was started under the title *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Communications), which is one of the existing periodicals today.

2. In that stage already a Hungaro-centred linguistic scholarship began to spread in the whole country. The so-called language-psychological trend started and primarily represented by Humboldt, Heyse and Steinthal was adopted in Hungary by Szende Riedl, who utilized the results of this school, progressive as it was in its time, to which he was also indebted in his *Magyar hangtan* ([Hungarian Phonetics], 1859; see further *Ungarische Grammatik*, 1858 and *Magyar nyelvtan* [Hungarian Grammar], 1864). This book is remarkable for its introduction which is a manual of general linguistics in the true sense of the word, containing several statements valid even today, and also because of its being the first Hungarian phonetic history comprising equally astute observations of standing validity.

Needless to say, the obsolete methods and views of the previous period still lingered on. Their impact is seen in the six volumes of *A magyar nyelv szótára* (A Dictionary of the Hungarian Language) compiled by Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi (1862—1874). This work has the undisputable merit of containing exceedingly rich material which has been well elaborated from the point of view of lexical meaning. Still it could not exert an influence, mainly because the editors, particularly Fogarasi, pursued long-outdated etymological principles. As a matter of fact, Fogarasi obstinately applied in this dictionary the above-mentioned root theory, disregarding the linguistic facts as well as the results of comparative and historical linguistics.

3. The next stage in this period of Hungarian linguistics was begun by the activity of József Budenz whose influence is still felt today. The fact that Budenz, who was of German origin, could be invited to settle in Hungary in 1858 praises Pál Hunfalvy's exceptional prudence and dexterity.

From the 1870s to the First World War

1. The appearance of József Budenz marks a stage of Hungarian linguistics which can be viewed as a period of great creators and great creations, one of the most distinguished periods of Hungarian language studies.

This not fully five decades' stage of development established Finno-Ugric studies in Hungary and the study of the Hungarian language raising it to the rank of real science. This period gave birth to the major comprehensive works that supplied the basis for subsequent research. New disciplines were launched and the Hungarian Linguistic Society was founded.

The first achievement in this stage, determining its characteristic feature, was the flourishing and placing on a solid scientific basis of comparative and historical linguistics in Hungary. This has been primarily linked up with the name of József Budenz. He was the first in Hungary to acquire linguistic erudition by way of autodidactic methods. Thus he adopted the methods of Indo-European linguistics that had brought reliable results by that time in comparative linguistics. Arriving in the country, he set his targets accordingly: to clarify methodically what features the Hungarian lexical and grammatical system have in common with the other Finno-Ugric languages and to what degree these elements agree or suggest common origin. The realization of this project started with two great works of his *Magyar-ugor összehasonlító szótár* (Hungarian-Ugric Comparative Dictionary), 1873—1881 and *Ugor alaktan* (Ugric Morphology), 1884—1894, and these at a level which enabled Finno-Ugric scholarship to be built on them both in Hungary and outside Hungary; they also set an example for a complex approach. Admittedly, József Budenz belonged to the old school founded by Grimm and Bopp; phonetic history had not yet been adequately worked out; comparatively few sources were available for him from the cognate languages; all this should be mentioned when we state that some of his propositions have proved to be erroneous and unacceptable; yet one thing clearly shows his exceptional talents: some forty per cent of his correspondences have been found correct by the recent etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language that was able to rely to a great extent on his work *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei* (Finno-Ugric Elements of the Hungarian Vocabulary).

In this way it happened that the "Ugric—Turkic war" concluded with the victory of Budenz who definitively established the theory of relationship between Hungarian and the Finno-Ugric languages in opposition to Ármin Vámbéry, whose theory of Turkish origin had evoked the applause of many people loath to accept the idea of a possible relationship with tribes "smelling of fish". It is not surprising either that the periodical of *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, founded by Budenz, played a leading role in international Finno-Ugric linguistics. Budenz has an outstanding position also because he educated many excellent disciples at the university chair at Budapest which he occupied in 1872. His followers furthered the programme of their spiritual father and completed the methodical details on the basis of his large works (to be treated below).

2. As is well known, the so-called neo-grammarian trend developed from the late 1870s mainly in the wake of the Leipzig scholars K. Brugmann, H. Osthoff and Aug. Leskien, and later H. Paul. We have to consider the influence of this school on Hungarian linguistics for a rather long time.

It has been a positive aspect of this influence that research with new methods showed a remarkable upswing in the field of historical linguistics, and especially in phonetic history, and also the study of dialects was pushed into the foreground. On the other side, a negative aspect of this school's influence was the neglect of descriptive investigations of syntactic questions and of lexicological studies.

The principles and methods of the neo-grammarian school were transplanted into Hungarian practice, and without any delay, by one of the greatest figures of contemporary Hungarian linguistics, a disciple of Budenz, Zsigmond Simonyi. It is primarily due to this talented man that Hungarian linguistics in the narrower sense approached — at the expense of much organizational work — the general European level. This mainly refers to the study of the history of the language. Of the extensive research activity of Simonyi — which has been unparalleled thus far — let us point here to those longer studies reflecting an immediate influence of the neo-grammarian school. These studies have had a fertilizing impact on Hungarian etymological research, and have also furthered the study of Hungarian vocabulary (*Az analógia*, *A kombináló szóalkotás*, *Az elvonás*, *Az ikerítés*, *Az indulatszó*, etc. [On Analogy, Combinative Word Formation, Back Formation, Twin Words, Ejaculations, etc.]). Still more important are the summary works and partial syntheses in which he studied the Hungarian vocabulary and grammatical system in their complexity as well as in their major components, laying the foundations of Hungarian historical linguistics: (in collaboration with Gábor Szarvas) *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár* (Hungarian Language Historical Dictionary), 1890—1893; *A magyar kötőszók* (Hungarian Conjunctions), 1881—1883; *A magyar határozók* (Hungarian Adverbial Complements), 1888—1892; (in collaboration with József Balassa) *Tüzetes magyar nyelvtan* (Detailed Hungarian Grammar, 1895, this being for the first time a really detailed working up of Hungarian historical phonetics and mainly syntax); *A jelzők mondattana* (A Syntax of Attributes), 1913. (It should be mentioned that precisely this work shows that Simonyi did not fully accept the principles of the neo-grammarian school; further evidence of this being his scheme of a complete syntax!) Furthermore he wrote the first systematic summarization of semantics (*A jelentéstan alapvonalai* [The Outline of Semantics], 1883, see also *Jelentéstani szempontok* [Aspects of Semantics], 1916); he first summed up — within the scope of applied linguistics — the theoretical and practical questions of language cultivation, and correct usage (*Antibarbarus* [Antibarbarian], 1879, *Helyes magyarság* [Correct Hungarian Usage], 1903); and he reviewed and modernized the Hungarian spelling (*Iskolai helyesírás* [Spelling Rules for Schools], 1903). Finally, he gave a complete picture of the past and present of the Hungarian language (*A magyar nyelv* [The Hungarian Language], 1889 and 1905, and *Die ungarische Sprache*, 1907), a work that has remained up to this date the only available popular scientific book on the theme.

3. The growing interest in Hungarian and Hungarian linguistics is shown both by Simonyi's exceptionally successful activity and by a number of other facts. First of all, during this period, and especially around the turn

of the century, such syntheses and fundamental works, we might say working tools, as were necessary for the continuation of research, were created by a so far unprecedented zealous activity of authors — sometimes teams of authors or collaborators. Besides the above-mentioned *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár*, the following collections and elaborations of the Hungarian stock of words are worth mentioning here: József Szinnyei, *Magyar tájszótár* (Hungarian Dialect Dictionary), 1893—1901; István Szamota and Gyula Zolnai, *Magyar oklevél-szótár* (Dictionary of Hungarian Words in Documents), 1902—1906; Kálmán Szily, *A magyar nyelvújítás szótára* (A Dictionary of the Hungarian Language Reform), 1902, 1908. These voluminous works have greatly contributed to the development of lexicology and etymology into one of the most advanced branches of Hungarian linguistics, considerable also internationally. (Anyway, we may not be far mistaken when stating that few other European languages can rival Hungarian in respect to its dictionary production: it is copious, varied and one of the earliest in modern languages.)

Studies in the history of the language (such as study of sounds, vocabulary and grammatical system) have been promoted by the equally voluminous publications of linguistic documents. Codices have been published from 1874 on by György Volf — though sometimes objectionable in matters of principle — in the volumes of *Nyelvemléktár* (Collection of Linguistic Records); old Hungarian glossaries and nomenclatures (mainly from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) have been brought to light; the series *Régi magyar költők tára* (Collection of Old Hungarian Poems) was started in 1877, and a long series of document publications was also introduced, etc.

As has been shown above, comprehensive works of no lesser importance were produced in the domain of the grammatical system. These are primarily due to Simonyi's activity which not only aided but also determined further research.

4. The study of Hungarian is shown to have come into the focus of interest also by the development after Budenz of Finno-Ugric research in Hungary. Undoubtedly, the disciples of Budenz followed the footsteps of their master, but it is equally true that when solving the task set to them, they mainly concentrated on the Hungarian relations of the Finno-Ugric languages and they allotted an ever larger scope for specifically Hungarian linguistic research. Here again phonological studies came to predominate, owing to the influence of the neo-grammarian trend, and it was not before the turn of the century that attempts were made at reconstructing the stock of consonants in the proto-Finno-Ugric language, and the reflexes of the individual sounds in the cognate languages. Collections were made by Bernát Munkácsi among the Voguls and the Votyaks, Ignác Halász among the Lappish people, József Pápay in the land of the Ostyaks, etc. Field work was accompanied by text descriptions, compilations of words, grammars, and studies on linguistic relationship; Munkácsi and Pápay enriched the literature also by resolving a considerable portion of the Reguly collection. Bernát Munkácsi as a Hungarian precursor of ethno-linguistics devoted a large work to his complex examination of the Iranian—Caucasian ety-

mologies of the Hungarian language (*Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn—magyar nyelvekben* [Iranian and Caucasian Elements in the Finno—Hungarian languages] I, 1901), emphasizing the importance of the evidence supplied by various fields of ethnography, folklore, cultural history, etc. for linguistic study. In cooperation with Ignác Kunos, Munkácsi also edited the periodical *Keleti Szemle* (Oriental Review), 1900, and he dealt with the questions of Turkish and Slavonic loanwords. Ignác Halász, a practical etymologist, conducted successful investigations into the Finno-Ugric—Samoyed correspondences, distinguishing himself as a theoretical etymologist as well (*Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 33 [1903], 1—14, 139—63).

This enumeration would be incomplete without the name of Budenz' most influential follower: József Szinnyei. He was primarily engaged in comparative Finno-Ugric linguistics, and also we owe to him the first handbook of comparative Finno-Ugric linguistics taking into account the Finno-Ugric elements of the Hungarian vocabulary (*Magyar nyelvhasonlítás* [Hungarian Comparative Linguistics]; a work which was published in seven editions between 1896 and 1927!). How profoundly he penetrated into the historical examination of the Hungarian language is best exemplified by his summary monograph on *A Halotti Beszéd hang- és alaktana* (Phonetics and Morphology of the Funeral Sermon), 1926.

5. Here we have to refer to the fact that the questions of the origin and history of Hungarian vocabulary were investigated, apart from the above scholars, by a large number of researchers; at the turn of the century several works were published on the subject. Based on a compilation by Miklosich, Oszkár Asbóth was the first Hungarian research worker who began to conduct expert investigations into the Slavonic loanwords of the Hungarian language. János Melich, one of the outstanding etymologists of his time, dealt with the German loanwords in the first part of his career (*Deutsche Ortsnamen und Lehnwörter des ungarischen Sprachschatzes*, in collaboration with Viktor Lumtzer, 1900); then as a crowning of his spirited debate with Asbóth, he published an extensive monograph on the Slavonic loanwords (*Szláv jövevényszavaink*, I, 1903—1905), which he unfortunately never finished. Anyway, he first applied in this work the so-called word-geographical principle. Zoltán Gombocz, another universal linguist of the period, carried on thorough research into the Turkic loanwords of the Hungarian language. It is not surprising that his work *Honfoglalás előtti török jövevényszavaink* (Turkic Loanwords in Pre-Conquest Hungarian), 1908, enlarged into: *Die bulgarisch—türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, 1912, productively affected Hungarian linguistics, and in particular Hungarian phonology.

6. The widening of the scope of Hungarian language science was also indicated by the upswing of some of its branches that had existed in former times, as well as by the introduction of new ones. Furthering earlier initiatives, a disciple of Simonyi, József Balassa, laid down the foundations of phonetics as a self-contained discipline. First he was known as an adapter of foreign results applying them to the Hungarian language (*A phonetika ele-*

mei . . . [The Elements of Phonetics . . .], 1886, and *Phonetik der ungarischen Sprache*, 1888); but in 1904 he published the first comprehensive study on *Magyar fonétika* (Hungarian Phonetics), which was in use for some twenty years as a handbook of phonetics. Returning from his study tours abroad following the turn of the century, Zoltán Gombocz introduced and established the discipline of experimental phonetics in Hungary (*Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 38 [1908], 193; *Le Monde Oriental*, 1907—1908).

Dialect research also reached a prospering stage. *Magyar Nyelvőr* (Hungarian Purist), a periodical started as a language-cultivating organ in 1872, gave wide coverage to dialect studies (both to publication of texts and words and various descriptions and essays on the subject), and the ratio of the copies of *Nyelvészeti Füzetek* (Linguistic Fascicles) containing dialect studies (ca. twenty) — sometimes excellent ones — exceeded one-third of the total numbers issued between 1902 and 1918. Parallel with the above-mentioned *Magyar tájszótár* compiled by Szinnyei, József Balassa published as early as 1891 the first Hungarian dialectal synthesis (*A magyar nyelvjárások osztályozása és jellemzése* [Classification and Characterization of Hungarian Dialects]) whose results have been relied on to this date.

Increasing interest was taken in matters of style as well. Aladár Zlinszky wrote the first comprehensive book on *Stilisztika és verstan* (Stylistics and Prosody) in 1914. The content was expressed by the subtitle: *A magyar stílus mintái és törvényei* (Patterns and Rules of Hungarian Composition).

The stage under discussion also added a new discipline to the existing ones: onomastics claimed rights of its own. Earlier sporadic efforts were followed by linguistic examinations of a coherent unit of onomatological material in the work of János Melich: *Szláv jövevényszavaink* (Slavonic Loanwords in the Hungarian Language). The author did not neglect here, nor in other works by him, the methodological questions of onomastics. At the same time, Gombocz devoted a thorough analysis to the proper names of Turkic origin in the age of the Árpáds.

7. Finally, the high point of Hungarian linguistics was best documented by the foundation of the *Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság* (Hungarian Linguistic Society), 1904, and the publication of the Society's periodical: the *Magyar Nyelv* (The Hungarian Language), 1905. The Society — whose manifold objectives included uniting Hungarian linguists; arousing interest among the general reading public in matters of the mother tongue and related science; publishing recent scientific results and material of language history and dialect research; furthering the development of language science and controlling this development — was called into life by existing needs. This is illustrated by the fact that the combined number of the members of the Society and the subscribers to the *Magyar Nyelv* was as high as 800 by the end of the year 1906. The periodical mentioned soon became — owing in no slight degree to the skill of its excellent editors — the leading organ of Hungarian linguistics, and has kept its position to this day.

Between the Two World Wars

1. This period of Hungarian linguistics is characterized by a certain degree of relapse, which is especially conspicuous if compared with the upswing of the previous stage of flourish. The decline can be ascribed to various reasons: first of all it should be mentioned that the country was pauperized following the First World War, and the financial basis of the Academy also deteriorated; in addition, the government displayed a regrettably indifferent attitude toward language science. But there were also more immediate factors to retard development. No organizational form could evolve which might have been serviceable (1) in coordinating the research work conducted in fragmented way at various places, and (2) in facilitating the appearance of the indispensable fundamental works which would have counterbalanced — by way of synthesizing the collective efforts — those individual and analytical research trends that were predominant in the linguistic circles of the time. Nor were the linguistic trends emerging abroad able to assert a refreshing influence, since they could hardly enter the country, owing to deficient international contacts. Outstanding scholars were not absent in this stage either, but they were lacking in organizational power, which was all the more serious since there was no social demand seen at work to urge scholarship to bring about general works of a summary character; and also the synthetical works of the previous stage, which were largely concerned with source publications, favoured the analytical approach.

2. It is thus only natural that this 30 years' period was an epoch of "torsos", in particular as regards synthetic works; much fewer publications were produced than could have been expected; some important periodicals were discontinued, and even the surviving ones were published at irregular intervals and with diminished scope; thus the period in question left a large debt unpaid for the subsequent generation of linguists.

It is highly regrettable, for instance, that the enormous enterprise started in the preceding period by the two most outstanding linguists of the time, Zoltán Gombocz and János Melich as editors, was left incomplete. The work which was to have treated the origin of the full stock of Hungarian words under the title *Magyar etymologiai szótár* (Hungarian Etymological Dictionary) was begun in 1914, in which year the first three fascicles were published; the next three fascicles appeared between 1918 and 1930 and were followed by seven between 1930 and 1944, when the publication of the material was broken off at the letter G. The main reason why the dictionary was discontinued is to be sought in its having been oversized: the editors intended to introduce, in addition to the common words, a considerable portion of proper names as well as dialect words; in the individual entries, they wanted to expatiate at length on the phonetic and semantic evolution of the entry word as well as on that of its derivatives; all details of their etymological connections and a critical survey of the literature on their etymologies would have been presented according to their plan. That the work was left unfinished is all the more regrettable because Gombocz and Melich began to solve the task at so high a level that this dictio-

nary of Hungarian, incomplete as it is, knows hardly any rival in the etymological lexicography of the world.

The only really monumental attempt at a synthesis during this period, *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve* (A Manual of Hungarian Language Science), also remained uncompleted. This series would have included 27 separate studies published in more or less voluminous books (occasionally in several volumes). They were to serve as summaries of the results obtained so far and as manuals for higher education, and were to cover the major parts of the historical disciplines. Since, however, the planning miscalculated the minimum working time and available working capacity, and failed to anticipate the ever-increasing financial difficulties, the series had to face barely surmountable obstacles after the appearance of the first volumes of monographs in 1922, and was completely deadlocked in 1938, by which time not quite half of the planned volumes had been issued. This enterprise whose list of authors includes the best linguists of the period is to be regarded as a very important one in spite of its incomplete state, mainly for some of the volumes, to be discussed below.

3. The continual narrowing of possible channels for publication was best documented by the shape of the edition of periodicals. The *Nyelvtudomány* (Language Science) and the *Keleti Szemle* (Oriental Review) were completely discontinued, the *Magyar Nyelvőr* (The Hungarian Purist) decreased in volume, the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Communications) was published in seven volumes instead of thirty from 1917 to 1946. Only *Magyar Nyelv* (Hungarian Language) found its way regularly to the readers — sometimes also in diminished scope — but even this periodical was not maintained by its subscribers, but rather by support and subventions collected from several sources.

4. The debts left unpaid by this period will be detailed below when the particular fields of the language, that is the research conducted in the particular disciplines, are examined. For notwithstanding the decline mentioned we have to point out that additional excellent scholars lined up with the former names of linguists; research was carried on at an elevated level; what is more, at that time the so-called "Language-historical school of Budapest" came into prominence, which tried to eliminate the exaggerations and rigid discipline of the narrow-minded positivists of the neo-grammarian school, and began to develop a kind of linguistic realism based primarily on the evidence of data, also scrutinizing the background of the data and relying on linguistic instinct; and further that, in spite of an undeniable decrease in the amount of scientific publication and the failure of syntheses and the degeneration shown in some fields, Hungarian linguists of the period were successful in resolving several partial tasks. In this sense, Hungarian linguistic scholarship proceeded even in this period.

5. As follows from what has been said so far and also from the protracted and sometimes preponderant influence of the neo-grammarian school, Hungarian linguistics was most fruitfully active in the domain of language history during the period discussed above. In his university lectures as well

as in his manifold research, Zoltán Gombocz surveyed almost every field within language history (historical phonetics, morphology, etymology of the Hungarian lexicon, etc.). Mimeographed copies of his lectures were circulated from 1925; their productive and stimulating influence can be felt even today. It is a pity, however, that of his planned *Magyar történeti nyelvtan* (Hungarian Historical Grammar) only his *Hangtan* (Historical Phonetics) came to see the light of day. The work written in 1925 and published in 1940 is a significant foundation for Hungarian historical phonetics. Another work of his, a system of semantics, was published under the title *Jelentéstan* (Semantics, 1926). This shows the combined influence of Wundt and the functional approach in a way that is rather exceptional in Hungarian topical literature. One of the greatest and most renowned works of summary character in the period was written by Antal Klemm under the title *Magyar történeti mondattan* (Hungarian Historical Syntax), 1928—1942. It was published as a monograph in the series *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve* (A Manual of Hungarian Language Science). The following works should be mentioned further: Antal Horger, *A magyar igeragozás története* (A History of Hungarian Conjugation), 1931; Gedeon Mészöly, *A Halotti Beszéd tárgyas elbeszélő-múlt alakjai* (The Objective Forms of Perfect Tense in the Funeral Sermon), 1931; by the same author: *Nyelvtörténeti fejtegetések a Halotti Beszéd alapján* (Language-Historical Considerations Based on the Funeral Sermon), 1942. As regards the domain of world history and etymology, we should mention, apart from the *Magyar etymologiai szótár* which has been left incomplete, Géza Bárczi's manual *Magyar szófejtő szótár* (Hungarian Etymological Dictionary), 1941, which is perhaps the most used and cited product of Hungarian linguistics. Although more modest in scope, this dictionary has had a fruitful influence on research, mainly because of the author's clever conception, his manner of conveying the results of scholarship, his statements concerning the etymology and history of many Hungarian words. An interesting monograph on the language reform was published by Vilmos Tolnai under the title *A nyelvújítás* (Language Reform), 1929 (a part of the series *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve*); another worthy contributor to Hungarian language history was Manó Kertész who published several papers dealing with the origin of Hungarian idiomatic expressions.

In other respects, we look in vain for the continuation of the source publications of the preceding periods. Exposition of material was no concern of researchers in this stage. At most a few facsimile editions of codices can be mentioned here. Nevertheless, the *Ó-magyar olvasókönyv* (Old Hungarian Reader) edited by Emil Jakubovich and Dezső Pais (1929) should be mentioned as a book which did very good service to both research and education.

In reviewing the disciplines of historical character we have to remember the results of onomastics, those of paleohistorical research, and finally the development of linguistic history. Onomastics shows an exceptional boom in the period. Research in geographical names was greatly promoted by an imposing work of János Melich: *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország* (Hungary in the Conquest Period), published in *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve*, 1925—1929. István Kniezsa began his scholarly career at that time by

publishing several high-standard syntheses: *Keletmagyarország helynevei* (Place Names in Eastern Hungary) published in 1943 in Vol. I of *Magyarok és románok* (Hungarians and Romanians) and his *Pseudorumänen . . .* Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis 1—2 (1933—1936). These are valuable contributions to the progress in that particular branch of linguistics. The research of anthroponyms owes a great deal to Dezső Pais, this versatile linguist and excellent university teacher whose *Régi személyneveink jelentéstana* (Semantics of Old Hungarian Names of Persons), 1921—1922, is a relatively short, yet fundamental study on the subject. It was published in *Magyar Nyelv* (XVII—XVIII). Works of expository character are not abundant in this field either. An exception is Attila Szabó T.'s remarkable regional study on *Kalotaszeg helynevei* (Place Names of Kalotaszeg), 1942.

Increased interest in paleohistorical research is documented by Gyula Németh's *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Ethnogenesis of the Hungarians of the Conquest Period), 1930, and *A magyarság őstörténete* (The Proto-History of the Magyars), 1943, a collection of papers edited by Lajos Ligeti.

An exemplary work of science-historical character published by János Melich in the preceding period under the title *A magyar szótárirodalom* (Hungarian Lexicography), 1907, was followed by József Pápay's *A magyar nyelvhasonlítás története* (The History of Hungarian Comparative Linguistics), and his *A finnugor népek és nyelvek ismertetése* (A Description of the Finno-Ugric Peoples and Languages); both of these were published in the series *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve* in 1922; and a deservedly celebrated modern and more elaborate summarization of the same subject is by the eminent Finno-Ugric scholar, Miklós Zsirai: *Finnugor rokonságunk* (Our Finno-Ugric Relatives), 1937. Here we may call attention to the fact that Miklós Zsirai, as were most of the Finno-Ugric linguists in Hungary (Ödön Beke, Dávid Fokos-Fuchs, etc.), was also engaged in the study of Hungarian linguistics.

6. The historical approach of the neo-grammarian school which remained in supremacy with a remarkable tenacity was not favourable for research of a descriptive nature. This stage of Hungarian linguistics — like the preceding one — failed to produce a comprehensive and scientifically founded descriptive Hungarian grammar. (This gap could not be filled by the work of Ferenc Kis-Erős published in 1915, entitled *A magyar nyelv rendszeresen vizsgálva* [A Systematic Description of the Hungarian Language], though it exerted a positive effect.) Lexicological examinations were not better off, either. The working process of collecting materials for the large dictionary of the Academy was disorganized, as a result of the lack of a basic conception. No up-to-date explanatory dictionary was compiled, only József Balassa produced a minor work of this kind, entitled *A magyar nyelv szótára* (Dictionary of the Hungarian Language), 1940.

In turn, progress ensued in the field of phonetics. Three summary works were written in the stage under discussion. *Magyar fonetika* by Gombocz (1925), based on the author's former laboratory results, also

considered phonological points of view. The summarization by Antal Horger: *Általános fonetika különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvre* (General Phonetics with Special Regard to Hungarian), 1929, was followed by the *Fonétika* of Gyula Laziczius in 1944, the most up-to-date and concise of all similar works.

In the second and third decades of the century interest in dialects decreased to a minimum. This explains why linguistic geography remained so long unrecognized in Hungary, and although some belated and out-of-date planning took place in 1929 and collecting was begun in the early forties, the preparation of the language atlas has remained a task for the next period. A new flourish of dialect research was due to Bálint Csűry, who published his own collection of dialect words in his valuable regional dictionary entitled *Szamosháti szótár* (A Dictionary of the Szamoshát Region), 1935—36, then as a university professor he established the Institute for Linguistic Research in Debrecen, and launched the annual *Magyar Népnyelv* (Hungarian Popular Idiom), 1939; it has been renamed *Magyar Nyelvjárások* (Hungarian Dialects) since 1951. Parallel with this, another linguistic periodical started in the provinces: *Népünk és Nyelvünk* (Our People and Language), 1930—1939, which was published under the title *Nép és Nyelv* (People and Language), after the Szeged University moved to Kolozsvár in Transylvania, to exist there from 1941 to 1943. Owing to the influence of Csűry and his disciples, collection and elaboration of dialect materials were started all over the country. Two summary works came to light at that time, *A magyar nyelvjárások* (Hungarian Dialects), 1934, a study by Antal Horger showing a certain historical approach, and another book by Laziczius with an identical title in 1936.

In the realm of applied linguistics, the zealous purists tried to prevail, although with exaggerations, excesses and inconsequence, and without an adequate theoretical foundation and organizational background. As regards stylistic studies, there was hardly any progress after 1934, and the case was similar in respect to spelling; former spelling rules were published with very slight alterations, if any.

7. In conclusion, some works are worth mentioning in the field of general linguistics. *Nyelvtörténeti módszertan* (Language Historical Methodology) written by Gombocz in 1922 and published in the series *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve* — proved to be a useful guide. *A nyelv és a nyelvek* (Language and Languages) by the Indo-Germanist József Schmidt is for the most part an instructive summarization of foreign works. *Általános nyelvészet* (General Linguistics) by Laziczius reveals the author's indebtedness to Saussure, and to other foreign scholars.

Following the Second World War

1. The present stage of Hungarian linguistic development might be characterized as follows: the old debts of language science primarily manifest in the field of summary works have been settled, and are being settled, by well-organized collective activity; scientific standards are invariably high,

or even higher than in the preceding period, owing to more favourable conditions; as regards quantity and variety of the results attained, the present period greatly surpasses all preceding ones.

This progress is mainly due to the social transformation and concomitant economic and cultural changes. In the changed circumstances the position of Hungarian linguistics has been basically modified; first of all, its outward, organizational structure: new research centres have come into existence, and the number of researchers has been enormously increased. The most important centre is that of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Linguistics, Hung. Acad. Sci.). Established in 1949, the Institute with its research workers, whose number is over fifty, and its up-to-date equipment has become really suitable for the task of controlling the collective work of linguists all over the country. This Institute is the principal place where modern collective methods are applied. But the chairs of linguistics at the universities and colleges where increased numbers of undergraduates and students have caused a large-scale increase of the educational staff have similarly become workshops for language science. Effective and up-to-date education has required that the students should be adequately furnished with handbooks and all accessories which are indispensable for their studies; and the university courses extend sometimes to those new branches of research which have not yet been treated by summary works. This circumstance also made it necessary that the members of the teaching staffs should follow with keen interest the development of the individual disciplines abroad, and, further, that they should participate in the collective work conducted at the Institute of the Academy or at their own university institutes.

2. The currently flourishing period owes its success to three generally characteristic features of contemporary linguistics. First of all, strong interest is being taken in the research trends that have the most direct connections with the practical walks of life: spoken and written forms of Hungarian usage. As a consequence, both in Hungary and abroad the more practical disciplines, such as descriptive grammar, stylistics, language cultivation, lexicography, literary language, and even the methods of teaching grammar and language and the most effective ways of news communication machine translation have come into the foreground of interest. Relevant research works have received their proper places at the various institutes. From this follows another feature which characterizes Hungarian linguistics and several other branches of science, namely, diversification. Many hitherto neglected, or less cultivated, only nominally existing, or completely unheard-of partial disciplines have been revived or reborn, or have come into existence, or gained independence as self-contained disciplines with appropriate spheres of problems and research methods within the past few years. The former class can be well exemplified by the results of stylistics and language cultivation, by investigations into the past of the literary (standard) language, the latter by historical dialect research, lexicography, mathematical linguistics, etc. Finally, seemingly contradicting the second-mentioned feature, but also proceeding from what has been set forth so far, these

disciplines are complex in character inasmuch as they require multilateral research. Anyway, this follows from the postulates of the dialectic research method. So much so that an expert in a linguistic discipline with the least pretence of creating something of standing value has to consider simultaneously not only all branches of linguistics but also the cognate and more remote disciplines, such as ethnography and folklore, literary history, political history, economics, as well as the information provided by cultural history and the history of art, sociology, etc.

Planning as such must also be taken into account. Purposeful planning which prevails in modern linguistic research in Hungary is by no means a negligible factor. Balancing between actual needs and available possibilities, planning helps distribute and allot the spiritual and material forces in a most reasonable way. At the same time, it ensures coordination of research carried on at various places.

Finally, we should not leave out of consideration the existing number of well-educated researchers. Under the guidance of celebrated scholars who began their careers in the preceding period (or even earlier) the middle generation performs the bulk of work and gradually occupies the leading posts, too. As a matter of course, this group is training the next generation of linguists according to the planned requirements (by various institutional facilities, as post-graduate and research student scholarships, etc.).

3. For lack of space we must restrict this portion of our report to some items of more advanced research which is now in progress.

Let us take a look first at the works of a descriptive nature. As has been said above, the present stage is primarily distinguished from the previous by its tendency to favour descriptive examinations, parallel with the historical studies. This belongs under the heading of settling old debts, i.e. replacing obsolete works by up-to-date ones. Ever since the first year of its existence, the Institute of Linguistics has launched its works of this kind to a considerable extent.

In the domain of phraseology and vocabulary, the most significant result is the *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian), in seven volumes published from 1959 to 1962 under the editorship of Géza Bárczi and László Országh. This is a truly collective work embracing the full stock of words and phrases of Hungarian. Theoretical thoroughness, well-elaborated experimental method, and the high scientific standard of the working method applied have contributed to the international esteem of Hungarian language science. The second edition of this lexicon is a measure of its timeliness and success. A brief version in one volume of the explanatory dictionary will soon be published under the title *A magyar nyelv kéziszótára* (A Concise Dictionary of Hungarian). *Magyar szinonimaszótár* (Dictionary of Hungarian Synonyms) is in preparation. Thesauruses of the works of various Hungarian authors and poets, namely those of Petőfi and Gyula Juhász, are being compiled, the latter by the Chair of Hungarian Linguistics of the Teachers' Training College in Szeged. After lengthy preparations the *Akadémiai nagyszótár* (The Great Dictionary of the Academy) will soon be prepared for publication; also mechanical equipment

will be used in all probability in the course of the final, intensive stage of its elaboration. (Collection of the material for this large dictionary was started in the second part of the last century. So far some four million and a half items have been accumulated. The preparatory works have been repeatedly interrupted for various reasons.)

In the field of grammar, a long-felt gap is filled by *A mai magyar nyelv rendszere* (System of Current Hungarian), a descriptive grammar in two volumes edited by József Tompa, 1961—1962. This is the first detailed synchronic Hungarian grammar in Hungary. Although the editor primarily intended to summarize the results of earlier research, that is to say he wished to produce a work of a traditional character, he has nevertheless included several new results and introduced more recent methodological procedures. An abridged version of this grammar was published in German for the use of students abroad, under the title *Ungarische Grammatik*, 1968. The study of Hungarian has been a main concern of university education in recent years (receiving by and large the same attention as language history). A manual for this field entitled *A mai magyar nyelv* (Present-day Hungarian; edited by Endre Rácz, 1968) is intended for university students, but can be equally well used by researchers.

A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza (An Atlas of Hungarian Dialects) has also absolved a pressing debt of Hungarian dialect studies. This high-standard publication could not have been issued had it not been for the Institute of Linguistics. The several frustrated attempts at compiling a complete Hungarian language atlas testify to this. The Institute coordinated the work of dialect researchers for over two decades, who collected some three quarters of a million items by means of questionnaires from 327 sites in present-day Hungary, and from 68 sites in the neighbouring countries. The publication will be completed within a few years. The material was gathered on the basis of the most up-to-date methods of linguistic geography, and every single item collected has been carefully edited. The first volume edited by László Deme and Samu Imre and published in 1968 promises that this linguistic atlas will exert a fruitful influence on Hungarian dialect research that has a long past to look back upon (primarily studies of dialectal phonetics and lexicology are wanting), and that it will also promote and facilitate the solution of a number of questions connected with language history, descriptive grammar, correct usage, stylistics, etc. Similar publications which deserve mention are József Végh's *Őrségi és hetési nyelvatlasz* (Language Atlas of the Őrség and the Hetés Regions), 1959; the *Ormánysági szótár* (Dictionary of the Ormányság Region) published by Géza Kiss and Kálmán Keresztes, 1952; *Szegedi szótár* (Dictionary of Szeged) by Sándor Bálint, 1957. Also the *Új magyar tájszótár* (New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary), which is being prepared jointly by the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy and Chair II. of Hungarian Linguistics of the Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences in Budapest, has reached an advanced stage of preparation. This voluminous dictionary will include the full stock of dialect words which have been published or which are preserved in manuscript from 1890 to 1960. Béla Kálmán published a summary work in 1966 entitled *Nyelvjárásaink* (Hungarian Dialects), as one of the recent university manuals. Finally

mention should be made of Samu Imre's dialectological study: *A mai magyar nyelvjárások rendszere* (The System of Living Hungarian Dialects) 1971.

4. Needless to say, the upswing of research conducted in Hungarian and Hungarian dialects should by no means be interpreted to mean that other investigations of a historical character, which have a long past in Hungary, have been pushed into the background. On the contrary, these have not only preserved their former importance but have also received new impetus. Historical linguistics has also many obligations to make good for. Old dictionaries have to be replaced by new ones, recent results call for up-to-date summarization, monographs are to be published, etc.

In the field of lexicology *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian) should be mentioned first. This is a joint publication of the Institute for Linguistics, Hung. Acad. Sci. and Chair I of Hungarian Linguistics of L. Eötvös University of Sciences, Budapest. The first two volumes of this work (A—Gy, 1967; H—O, 1970, chief editor: Loránd Benkő) adequately demonstrate that excellent syntheses can be produced in a comparatively short time if a correct theoretical conception is combined with up-to-date methods and the task is executed by a team of well-chosen collaborators. The three projected volumes of this dictionary include some 12,000 entries, extending even to the most recent common words, deriving from international argot and technical usage, etc. There is every hope that the etymologies, brief historical descriptions and presentation of other essential features will greatly refresh etymological research in Hungary. Monographs dealing with Hungarian words of Finno-Ugric origin are contained in *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei* (The Finno-Ugric Elements of the Hungarian Lexical Stock), a dictionary in four volumes. The first volume (published in 1967; chief editor: György Lakó) again shows that it was high time to re-assess the results of former investigations in this line, notwithstanding the copious literature published so far both in Hungary and abroad. Here we should like to refer to the largest and best monograph ever written on Hungarian loanwords, that by István Kniezsa, entitled *A magyar nyelv szláv jövevényszavai* (The Slavonic Loanwords in the Hungarian Language), 1955. Unfortunately, the work was left incomplete. Another excellent study in this field is that by Lajos Ligeti on the Turkish loanwords of Hungarian (in the *Magyar Nyelv*, etc.); Lajos Tamás has treated the Hungarian elements of the Romanian language in his *Etymologisch-historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Elemente im Rumänischen*, 1966. Finally, research in Hungarian phraseology has been considerably advanced by *Magyar szólások és közmondások* (Hungarian Phrases and Proverbs), 1966, a compilation of fundamental importance by Gábor O. Nagy.

The historical examination of Hungarian grammar and of its phonetic system requires a glance at the university manuals series published in compliance with the new reform under the title *Egyetemi magyar nyelvészeti füzetek* (Fascicles of Hungarian Linguistics for University Use), the more so since almost every partial discipline of Hungarian language history (phonol-

ogy, lexicology, historical morphology and syntax, etc.) have been developed from university preliminaries. Summary works usually owe their existence to notes of university lectures in this line. These works — including the latest manual of comprehensive Hungarian language history — written by Géza Bárczi, Loránd Benkő and Jolán Berrár under the title *A magyar nyelv története* (A History of the Hungarian Language), 1967, have the primary aim of assisting university education the scope of which has been greatly expanded in the re-organized system. At the same time, however, they are of much use for science and research, since, as reference books, they comprise all the basic data. Especially the manuals written by Géza Bárczi are outstanding owing to their clear presentation of problems, the carefully selected earlier achievements and the impressive number of new data; such works are his *Magyar hangtörténet* (Hungarian Phonology), 1958[2]; *A magyar szókincs eredete* (The Etymology of the Hungarian Stock of Words), 1958[2], etc. Bárczi also produced the excellent synthesis entitled *A magyar nyelv életrajza* (The Biography of Hungarian), 1963, a unique combination of research and of popularization, representing the full known history of Hungarian, including the development of dialects, literary language, common language, etc. This recent period of Hungarian linguistics has witnessed the birth of the first major synthesis of the history of orthography: *Helyesírásunk története a könyvnyomtatás koráig* (The History of Hungarian Orthography up to the Age of Book-Printing), 1952, by István Kniezsa, author of the university manual entitled *A magyar helyesírás története* (History of Hungarian Orthography). In this period several linguistic records have received detailed philological treatment (*The Foundation Charter of Tihany; The Fragment of Königsberg; The Siege of Szabács*, etc.). Manuscript collections, codices, literary works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, epistles, and private and public documents are being edited uninterruptedly. Preparatory works of the *Új magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár* (New Hungarian Language-History Dictionary) have been started and successfully carried on.

A few titles from the field of onomastics: *Magyarország történeti földrajza az Árpádok korában* (A Historico-Geographical Survey of Hungary in the Age of the Árpáds), Vol. I (A—Cs), 1963, edited by György Györffy; *Névtudományi vizsgálatok* (Onomatological Examinations), 1960, published as the material of the Onomatological Conference of 1958; and *Zala megye földrajzi nevei* (Geographical Names in Zala County), 1964, as the first volume of geographical names collected by counties under the auspices of the Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

5. Work on the history of the Hungarian language has been powerfully enriched by the appearance of several new disciplines, first of all that of dialect history, whose foundation was laid down by Géza Bárczi: *Régi magyar nyelvjárások* (Old Hungarian Dialects), 1947; *A magyar történeti nyelvjáráskutatás* (Hungarian Historical Dialect Research; in *Általános nyelvészet, stilisztika, nyelvjárástörténet* [General Linguistics, Stylistics, Dialect History], 1956, 301—24). Subsequently, a number of studies primarily on the sixteenth century have been published and a comprehensive work on

the full history of Hungarian dialects was issued: Loránd Benkő, *Magyar nyelvjárástörténet* (Hungarian Dialect History), 1957.

Examination of literary usage has also presented itself as a new branch of partial disciplines. Research in this line was started by Dezső Pais in his survey on *A magyar irodalmi nyelv* (Hungarian Literary Language), a sketchy study which touched upon every important problem (1953). After the publication of this work, the methodological problems of the discipline were clarified and also the historical development of literary Hungarian has been investigated for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the epoch of Enlightenment and the Reform Age; see: Loránd Benkő, *A magyar irodalmi írásbeliség a felvilágosodás korának első szakaszában* (Hungarian Literary Usage in the First Period of the Epoch of Enlightenment), 1960; Dezső Pais ed., *Nyelvünk a reformkorban* (The Hungarian Language in the Reform Age), 1955, etc. Here we have to mention that the first steps in establishing the norms of literary and common-language pronunciation have also been successfully taken: *Helyes kiejtés, szép magyar beszéd* (Correct Pronunciation, Beautiful Hungarian), 1967.

6. Within applied linguistics, language cultivation and stylistics can also be ranked along with the reborn disciplines. It is owing to no slight extent to the language-cultivation activity, as well as to the copious literature on the topical problems increasingly dealt with from the point of view of both science proper and popular science from the early fifties, that a growing interest has become manifest on the part of very extensive layers of the population in respect to correct Hungarian usage — we might even say refined Hungarian usage — and what is more, general questions of linguistics have become a matter of common interest so much so that several works of fundamental importance have been published — besides a great number of practical guides — to tackle questions of principle and methods, too: *Magyar nyelvhelyesség* (Correct Hungarian Usage), 1957, 1964[2]; etc. A voluminous "Handbook of Language Cultivation" is to be published in the near future, a compilation that is envisaged to serve as a guide-book for both experts and the general public in matters of correct Hungarian usage. The rebirth of Hungarian stylistics can be counted from the sessions of the IIIrd Congress of Linguists in Budapest in 1954; ever since then work has progressed in descriptive and historical stylistics. The first handbook was published in the form of a university manual: *A magyar stilisztika vázlata* (A Sketch of Hungarian Stylistics) in 1958. Other relevant works are: István Szathmári, *A magyar stilisztika útja* (The Progress of Hungarian Stylistics), 1961; *Stilisztikai tanulmányok* (Studies of Style), 1961; Katalin J. Soltész, *Babits Mihály költői nyelve* (The Poetical Language of Mihály Babits), 1965. A thoroughly revised edition of *A magyar helyesírás szabályai* (Rules of Hungarian Spelling) was published in 1954, followed by a study on the system of Hungarian orthography (*A magyar helyesírás rendszere*, 1966).

7. New linguistic trends have naturally made their way to Hungary as well, resulting in studies of various scope and importance (structuralism in its early extremist forms and in its more recent and considerable variants,

transformational and generative grammar, historical phonetics, language typology, mathematical linguistics, etc.). A team working at the Institute for Linguistics has set out, after thorough theoretical and methodological preparation to work on *A magyar nyelv strukturális (generatív) grammatikája* (The Structural [Generative] Grammar of Hungarian) in 1961. It is hoped that the results of this enterprise will help experts to subject these trends to closer criticism. It is equally hoped at the same time that every linguist will make an effort to acquaint himself with the new results and methods. This is indispensable for a sound synthesis of the traditional and the so-called modern trends so that the representatives of the two "camps" can make use of each other's reliable results.

8. What progress has been made in Hungary in the domain of general linguistics? Admittedly, Hungarian linguistics has never been characterized by any deep interest in purely theoretical problems of general linguistic relationships. Not even the most recent developments have brought about any change in this respect. Yet it could hardly be denied that studies and collections of papers have been published in the field of more than one discipline which are instructive — sometimes internationally — from several points of view of general linguistics, that is from the theoretical and methodological aspects; for example, from the field of lexicography: *Szótártani tanulmányok* (Lexicological Studies), 1966; from linguistic geography: *A magyar nyelvatlasz munkamódszere* (The Working Method of the Hungarian Language Atlas), 1955; László Deme, *Nyelvatlaszunk funkciója és további problémái* (The Function of our Language Atlas and Further Problems), 1956; from language cultivation: *Nyelvművelésünk főbb kérdései* (The Principal Questions of Hungarian Language Cultivation), 1953; see also the references in connection with the study of the literary language dialectology, etc.

From among the studies on the history of Hungarian linguistics we can cite László Gáldi, *A magyar szótárirodalom a felvilágosodás korában és a reformkorban* (Hungarian Lexicography in the Epoch of Enlightenment and the Reform Age), 1957; and *Tanulmányok a magyar és finnugor nyelvtudomány történetéből 1850—1920* (Historical Studies in the Sphere of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics from 1850 to 1920), 1970; etc. It was only Géza Bárczi who devoted several articles to the survey of the development of Hungarian linguistic history.

In this manner we are in want of an up-to-date and complete handbook of general linguistics (covering the fields of general language theory, methodology, general questions of the individual disciplines, the history of linguistics). A work dealing with these problems briefly for university students according to the needs of those days, entitled *Bevezetés a nyelvtudományba* (An Introduction to Linguistics) was published by Géza Bárczi in 1953.

9. In discussing the most recent period of Hungarian linguistics we had to confine ourselves to those works which are of outstanding importance from one point or another. We shall conclude our survey by indicating that many monographs, studies and special publications have appeared in

regular series or as contributions to collections such as *Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* (Linguistic Studies), *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* (Linguistic Essays), *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai* (Publications of the Hungarian Linguistic Society); a great number of periodicals also have to be taken into account (in addition to those mentioned above, some new periodicals have been launched during the last decades: *Acta Linguistica* [with papers and reviews in English, French, German and Russian], *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. Osztályának Közleményei* [Communications of Section I of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]; the new annuals are: *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* [General Linguistic Studies], *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* [Ethnography and Linguistics]; and the yearbooks of the secondary-school teachers' training colleges in Eger, Pécs and Szeged; etc).

To all this should be added that the lectures delivered at the sessions of the various departments of the *Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság* are also regularly published, as well as the contributions at national congresses and conventions (for the material of the first international congress of linguists see *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* No. 58, 1968), etc.

Finally we must not fail to point out that increasing interest in Hungarian and Hungarian linguistics has been manifest — especially in the past decade — in the most varied parts of the world. Therefore we have to survey the most important institutes — of neighbouring and more distant countries — where investigations into Hungarian are being conducted.

Special colours are represented by the activity of the linguists of Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania). The distinguishing title of "The School of Kolozsvár" is due to a respectable tradition continued by Attila Szabó T., Gyula Márton, and to the outstanding results of the Chair of Hungarian Linguistics at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj. Proceeding on the paths opened by Bálint Csűry, the Transylvanian linguists excelled, first of all, by their exceedingly rich dialectal collection. In this connection we have to mention that quite a number of important works, such as the *A romániai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* (Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania), some eight regional atlases, and various regional vocabularies and dialect dictionaries are ready to join their highly valuable material into the current of international linguistics. Furthermore the results attained by Attila Szabó T. uncovering source material are of utmost significance. The *Erdélyi helytörténeti adattár* (Collection of Data on Transylvanian Topography History) and the *Erdélyi szótártörténeti tár* (Transylvanian Lexicological Collection) — whose linguistic data well exceeded one million in 1968 — seem to be as important comprehensive works as are the *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár* (Hungarian Language Historical Dictionary) and the *Magyar oklevél-szótár* (Dictionary of Hungarian Words in Documents), etc., compiled at the turn of the century. In the end, the linguists of Kolozsvár have promoted to no slight degree research in Hungarian language history, literary language, stylistics, etc.

Linguistic research of Hungarian are conducted at all colleges and universities in Czechoslovakia where teachers of Hungarian are trained, namely at the departments of Hungarian in the Komenský University, Pozsony (Bratislava), the Teachers' Training College, Nyitra (Nitra) and the Charles

University, Prague. For obvious reasons, these groups of linguists are primarily engaged in dialectology (collecting material for dialect dictionaries and regional atlases, etc.). They also publish analytical studies on the literary language of Hungarian writers and poets living in Slovakian territories, as well as on the questions of the common language, or the mutual influence of Slovak and Hungarian; furthermore, they are busy at publishing various kinds of dictionaries, school-books, handbooks, etc.

In Yugoslavia, Hungarian linguistic research is also connected with higher education. In addition to these, particularly important work is conducted in the Institute of Hungarian Studies, Újvidék (Novi Sad). Here again work is focused on dialectology. A few years ago Olga Penavin published a language atlas of the Mura region and of the Baranya region, and the first volume of the Slavonian dictionary based on the Kórógy dialect. Preparations have been made to publish the *A jugoszláviai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* (Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Yugoslavia), various technical bilingual dictionaries, a comprehensive dictionary of Serbo-Croatian—Hungarian, and a Hungarian—Serbo-Croatian comparative (contrastive) grammar book. The linguists living in present-day Hungary have been asked to contribute to these endeavours. The yearbooks of the abovementioned Institute and those of the University of Újvidék, the various linguistic publications for the use of the general public, as well as the significant conventions and social programmes arranged by the Society of Hungarian Language Cultivation, etc. are all evidence to the fact that the teachers and researchers in Yugoslavia do their best to promote Hungarian linguistic development.

In the Soviet Union very significant research is conducted by the Hungarian Department of the University of Ungvár (Uzhgorod) and in the Moscow Institute of Linguistics. Several scholars have developed interest in past and recent connections of Hungarian with Ukrainian (cf. e.g. P. M. Lizanets: *Magyar—ukrán nyelvi kapcsolatok*, Uzhgorod, 1970). Much in the same way as in Yugoslavia, dialect research is carried on with respect to the Hungarian population in the Carpathian Ukraine, bilingual dictionaries are published together with university handbooks and other schoolbooks of Hungarian grammar, etc. Mention should be made here of the study, both synchronic and diachronic, concerning some partial phenomena or the entirety of the system of Hungarian. Outstanding in this field is the work by Klara Maitinskaya: *Vengersky yazik* (I—III, Moscow 1955, 1959 and 1966). Presenting the history of Hungarian, the authoress discusses in a very interesting way the complete system of modern Hungarian according to the method of Russian descriptive grammars.

For different reasons and on different initiatives particular centres of Hungarian linguistics have developed in the U.S.A. First of all, the Department of Uralic and Altaic Languages including a large section of Hungarian Studies, Columbia University, New York, should be mentioned which was established in 1947 with Professor J. Lotz as department head (who had earlier published a Hungarian grammar characterized by an up-to-date approach: *Das ungarische Sprachsystem*, Stockholm, 1939). Following the year 1958, quite a series of Hungarian institutes have come into existence in the U.S.A. The

practical work (teaching of Hungarian) and the theoretical study conducted by Hungarian linguists in North America are very useful complements to the research in Hungary. Modern structural approach to Hungarian phonetics, phonology and grammar; contrastive (comparative) Hungarian—English grammar (in collaboration with the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics, Budapest); processing of linguistic data, application of computers in linguistics and language pedagogy are the particular fields where Hungarian scholars in America have obtained and are likely to obtain further results of great inportance. Special mention should be made here of the Uralic and Altaic Series of the Research Center for the Language Science, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, Indiana University, Bloomington. This series includes several studies of Hungarian concern. The linguistic activity of D. Sinor and of R. Austerlitz is also significant.

In addition to the above places, we ought to enumerate all the centres (universities, colleges, etc.) in the mentioned countries and others not listed here, where teaching of Hungarian is being conducted, and where at least one reader in Hungarian is active (in linguistic research to a certain extent, too); but we have to restrict the rest of our survey to those countries and towns where research of Hungarian linguistics has obtained outstanding results so far: Finland (Helsinki, Turku, Tampere, Yyväskylä), German Democratic Republic (Berlin), German Federal Republic (Hamburg, Göttingen, München), France (Paris), Great Britain (London), Sweden (Uppsala, Lund, Stockholm), Italy (Rome, Padova), Austria (Vienna), Holland (Utrecht).

Prospects

In spite of its long and productive past, the science of language as it has been and is being practised in Hungary faces many challenges in the future. Some of the areas which require immediate attention are: the study of onomastics, the completion of the comprehensive dictionary, a complete description of Hungarian phonetics, a modern Hungarian phonology; research in semantics; a comprehensive historical grammar; monographs on the vocabulary, morphology and syntax of the various dialects, more exact synchronic investigations, a comprehensive work on the history of Hungarian language science. We have, however, sufficient reason to believe that these not too easy tasks will be solved and Hungarian linguistics will continue to contribute to the study of language.

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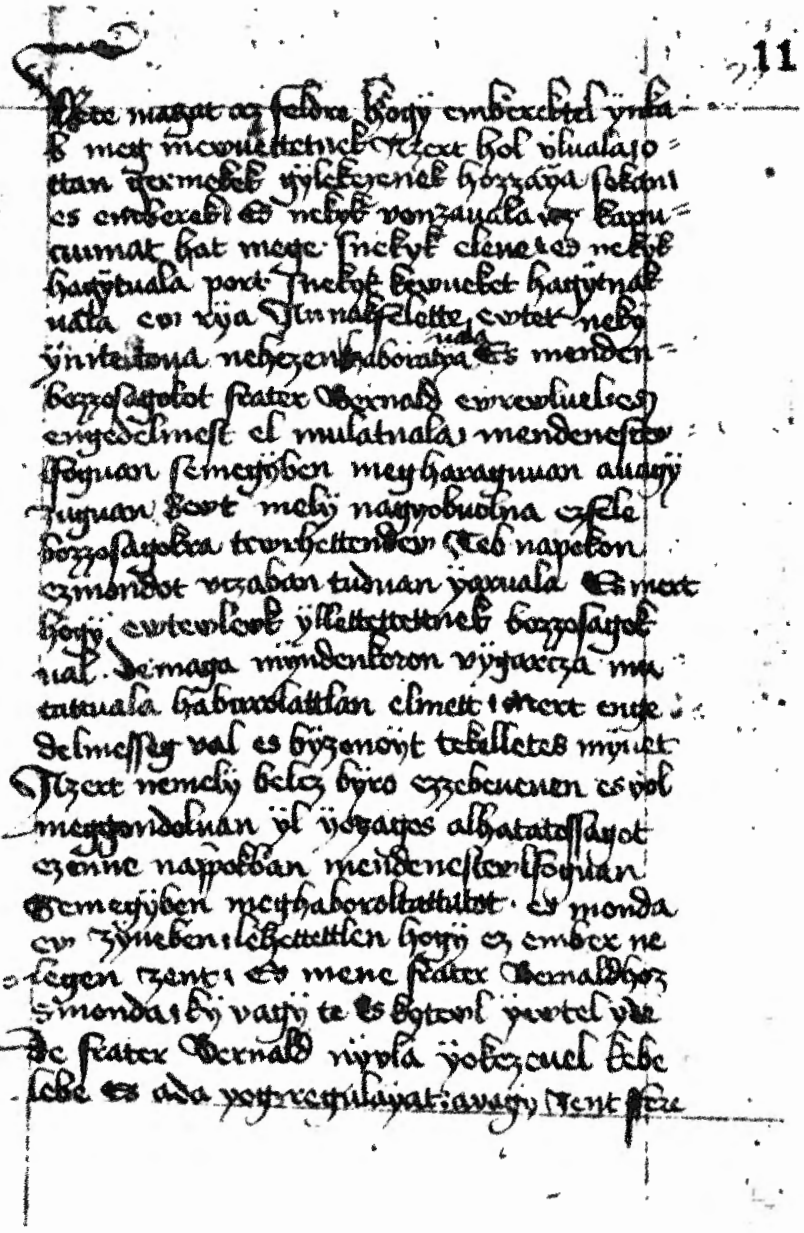
FACSIMILES

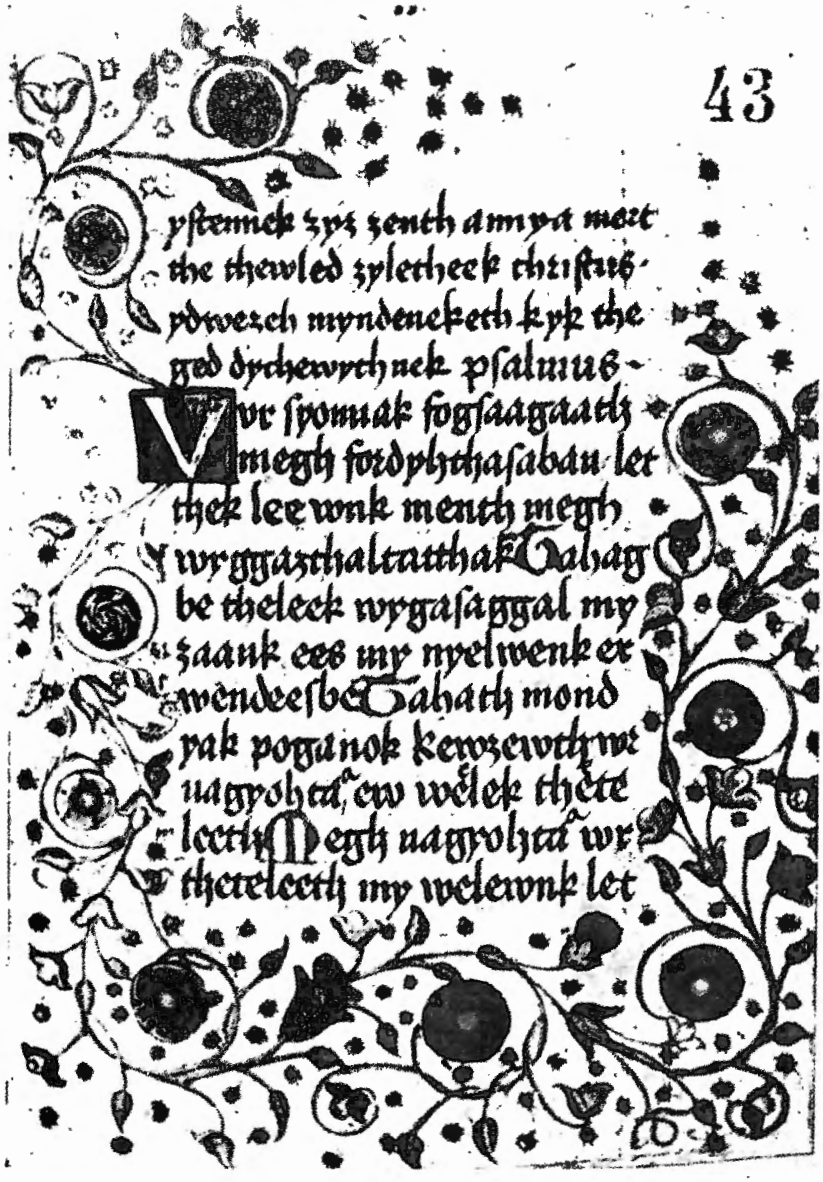
1. Funeral Sermon and Prayer

2. Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin



3. Jókai Codex, p. 11

4. Vienna Codex, p. 12

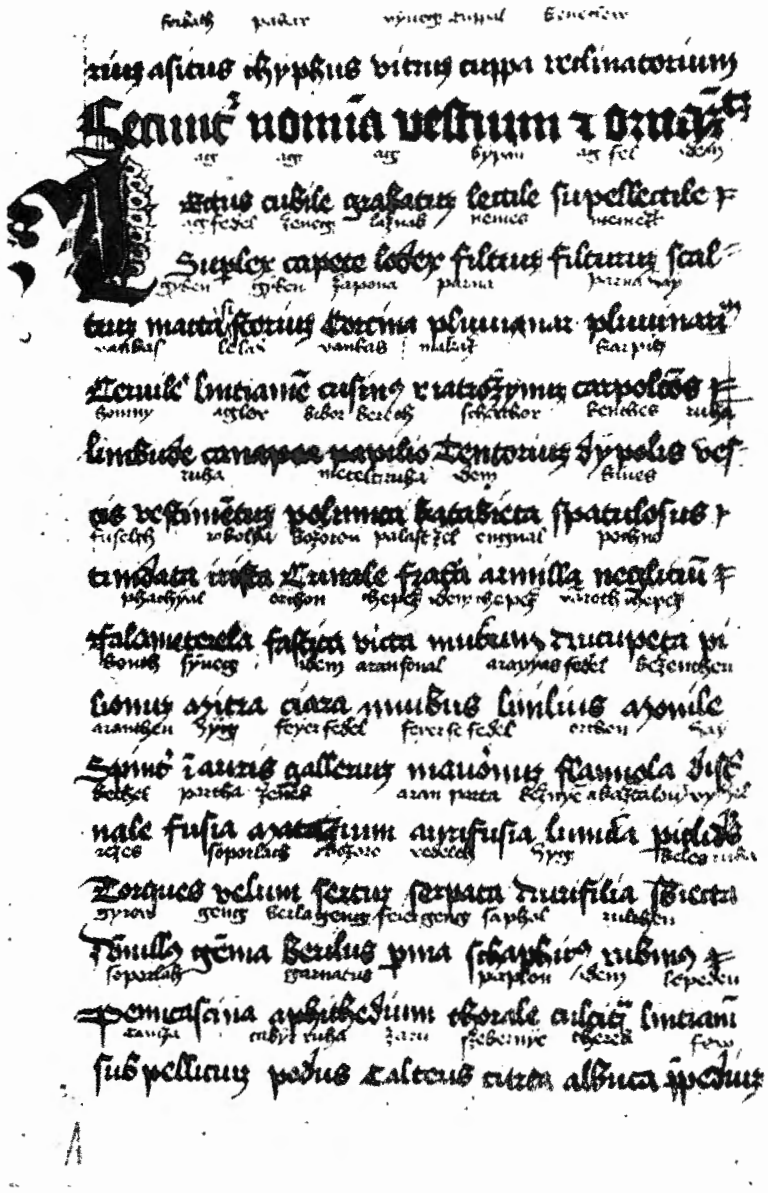


43

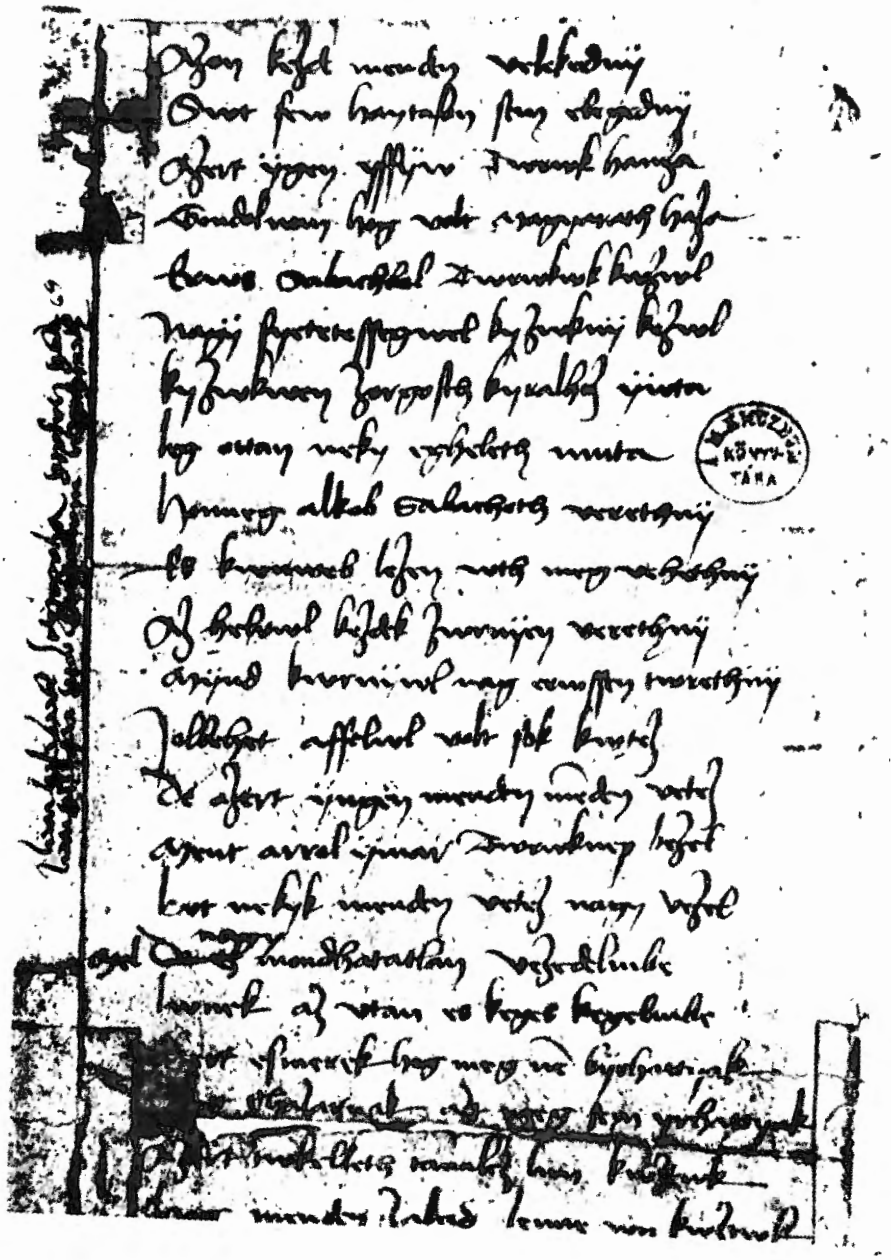
ystennek zyz zenth annya mert
the thewled zyletheek christus·
ydwezeh myndeneketh kyk the
ged dychewythnek psalmus·
Vvr syonnak fogsaagaath
megh fordyhthasaban let
thek leewnk menth megh
wyggazthaltatthak Gahag
be theleek wygasaggal my
zaank ees my nyelwenk er
wendeesbe Gahath mond
yak poganok kewzewth wr
nagyohta ew welek thete
leeth Megh nagyohta wr
thetelecth my welewnk let

A Festetics-kódex 43a. lapja.

5. Festetics Codex, p. 43



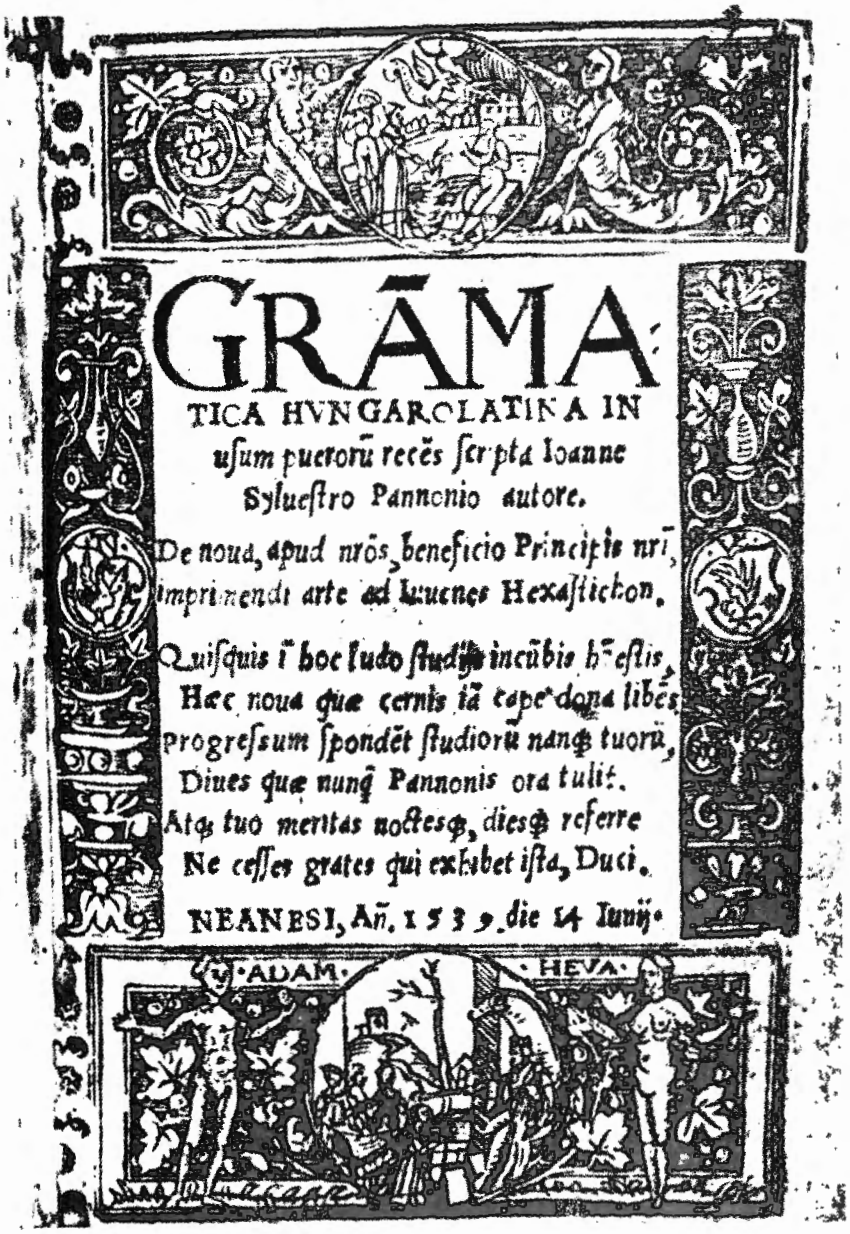
6. Beszterce Word List, p. 4



7. The Conquest of Szabács, fol. 3

8. Safeguard of András Vér

9. The Runic Alphabet of Nikolsburg



GRĀMA-
TICA HVNGARO LATINA IN
usum puerorū recēs scripta Ioanne
Sylvestro Pannonio autore.

De noua, apud nrōs, beneficio Principis nrī,
imprimendi arte ad Iuuenes Hexastichon.

Quisquis ī hoc ludo studijs incūbis hēstis,
Hæc noua quæ cernis iā cape dona libēs:
progressum spondēt studiorū nanq; tuorū,
Diues quæ nunq; Pannonis ora tulit.
Atq; tuo meritas noctesq; diesq; referre
Ne cesses grates qui exhibet ista, Duci.

NEANESI, Añ. 1539. die 14 Iunij.

ADAM · HEVA ·

10. Title page of the Hungarian—Latin grammar by János Sylvester

AZ MAGAR NIPNEK KI EZT
OLVASSA

Profetāk āltal ßolt righeñ nēked az isten/
Az kit ighirt imę vigre meg atta fiāt.
Buzgo lilekuel ßol most ęs nēked ez āltal/
Kit haga hog halgass/kit haga hog te kouess.
Nēked azirt ez lūn profetād/doctorod/ez lūn
Mestered/ ez most ęs/ mellet az isten ada.
Az profeta ßauāt halgasd/ mert tighed az isten
El veßt/ ęs ńomos. itt nem lehet az te neued.
Itt ez irāsban ßol mostañ ęs nēked ez āltal/
Hūtre hiu mind/hog lenki ne mencze magāt.
Az ki Sidoul/ęs Górógūl ęs vigre Diākul
Szol vala righeñ/ßol nēked az itt Magarul.
Minden nipnek az ū ńelwiñ/hog minden az isten
Tóruińiñ illen/minden imāgga newit.
Itt vagon az reytek kincz itt vagon az ki folo viz/.
Itt vagon az tudomāń mell órók iletet ād.
Lelki keńir vagon itt/ mellben miker ißel órókkę
Ilß/mell az menńból ßālla/ halālra mene.
Az ki teremt tighed/meg vālt/órók iletet ęs ād
Ez ßent āltal/nincz tóbb bizodalmad azirt.
Ennek azirt ßolgāll mindenkor tißta ßūeduel/
Ennek mindenkor tīg igaz āldozatot.
Tighedet ez hozzā vißen/s nem hāg miker ig mond
Bodogok el iouetek/ vessetek el gonoßok.
Sylucster Janos iria.

11. Dedication in verse of the Bible translation by János Sylvester

ORTHO
GRAPHIA VN
GARICA.

Azaz, Igaz iraz Modiarol valo
tudomań Magár ńeluenn
irattatott.

Mostán pedig vionnan meg igazy-
tatott, es ki niomtatott.

MARCI 12.

Nem azért téuelgetec é, hog sem
az irásocat nem tuggátoc,
sem az Isten ha-
talmat?

1549.

12. Title page of the orthographical grammar by Mátyás Dévai Biró

DICTIONARIUM
UNGARICO-
LATINUM,
NNUMERIS VOCIBUS UN-
GARICIS, FORMULISQUE LOQUENDI
LATINE REDDITIS,
Nunc tertiùm locupletatum:
CUI INSPERSA SUNT USITATIORA
PROVERBIA UNGARICA, CUM ÆQUI-
pollentibus Adagiis Latinis:
QVAE OMNIA SVB INITIALI, VEL
praecipua Adagionis Vngaricæ voce fa-
cilè reperiuntur.
AUTHORE
ALBERTO MOLNAR Szenciensi.

4644.

HEIDELBERGAE.
Typis Viduæ JOH. GEORGII Geyderi *Acad. Typogr.*
Impensis Heredum Wechelianorum, DANIELIS
DAVIDIS Aubriorum, & CLEMENTIS Schiechii.
Anno M DC XXI.

13. Title page of the Hungarian—Latin dictionary by Albert Szenczi Molnár

NOVÆ
GRAMMATICÆ
Ungaricæ
SUCCINCTA METHO-
DO COMPREHENSÆ, ET
perſpicuis exemplis illuſtratæ
LIBRI DUO.
Ad
Illuſtriſſimum & Generoſiſſimum Principem, ac Dn.
DN. MAURITIUM *juniorem, Haſſiæ*
Landgravium, &c.
Autore
ALBERTO MOLNAR Szencienſi.

HANOVIÆ, Typis Thomæ Villeriani: *impenſis*
verò Conradi Biermanni *& conſort.*

14. Title page of the Hungarian grammar by Albert Szenczi Molnár

MAGYAR

GRAMATIKATSKA

A'vagy,

AZ IGAZ MAGYAR IRASBAN,

és szollásban kévántato néhány szükséges

OBSERVATIOK.

Mellyeket irogatási, és elmélkedési között, egyszer másszor eszében szedegetett, meg-jegyzegetett, és Magyar munkájiban, főbb-képpen a' TITKOK-TITKABAN, követett-is, és egy-ként a' maga irásának, és szollásának mentségére, s' más-ként pedig a' Magyarságon kapdoso elmés ifjuságnak oktattatására, ki-botsátott,

GELEJI KATONA ISTVAN,

Erdélyi Orthodoxus Püspök, és egygyik Fejir-vári Lelki-Pasztor.

KI-NYOMTATTATOTT

GYULA-FEJIR-VÁRATT

A. D. M. CD. XLV.

MNyelv. O.

15. Title page of the Hungarian grammar by István Geleji Katona

JOANNIS SAJNOVICS. S. J.
UNGARI TORDASIENSIS
E COMITATU ALBA - REGALENSI

REGIÆ SCIENTIARUM SOCIETATIS HAFNIENSIS,
ET NIDROSIENSIS SOCII

DEMONSTRATIO.

IDIOMA

UNGARORUM

ET

LAPPONUM

IDEM ESSE.

REGIÆ SCIENTIARUM SOCIETATI DANICÆ
PRÆLECTA, ET TYPIS EXCUSA HAFNIÆ

ANNO MDCCLXX.

RECUSA

TYRNAVIÆ,
TYPIS COLLEGII ACADEMICI SOCIETATIS JESU.

16. Title page of "Demonstratio" by János Sajnovics